

# Maclean's

**BEN  
JOHNSON  
SPEAKS OUT**

## Election Countdown

- Exclusive Interviews With The Leaders
- Making Sense Of The Free Trade Deal: A Special Report



There are other fish  
in the sea.



# But when you've got the best, make the most of it.

The Clover Leaf symbol tells you it's the best you can buy  
So let your good taste speak for itself—  
with recipes that make the most of Clover Leaf's  
best-selling quality and value

## PITA BOLLUPS

Roll out a quick, nutritious "sandwich" that's fun for the whole family with high-protein, low-calorie Clover Leaf® Church Light® flour in water.

- 2 pita bread
- 2 tsp mustard
- 1/4 cup mayonnaise
- 1 tbsp (5 g) Clover Leaf Chalk Light® flour, drained and flaked
- 1/3 cup thinly sliced cucumber
- 1/4 cup grated Cheddar cheese
- 2 tbsp sliced olives
- 1 firm medium tomato, sliced
- 1/2 cup alfalfa sprouts

Popper to taste

Roll pita loosely. Combine mustard and mayonnaise. Spread over rounds. Layer over remaining ingredients to within 1/2" of pita edges. Roll up and serve with toothpicks. Cut rolls in half. Serves 4



## CREAMY CLAM BUNS

For a timely and delicious change of pace, all you need is a can of rich, hearty Clover Leaf® New England Clam Chowder—and your microwave!

- 4 oz cream cheese
- 1 can (10 oz) Clover Leaf Clam Chowder, undrained
- 2 tbsp chopped green onion
- 1 tsp butter
- 1/4 cup pepper
- 2 hard-boiled eggs, sliced
- 2 Paprika

Place cream cheese in a 1 qt. casserole dish. Microwave at medium (50%) for 1 min. to soften. Slice halfway through cooking period. Stir in chowder, green onion, tomato, juice and pepper. Stir again halfway through cooking time. Microwave at medium (50%) for 2-3 1/2 min. until heated through. Serve with drained butter, sprinkled with paprika. Serves 2-3



## SALMON SCHAUMLE

Whip up an elegant brunch, lunch or light supper dish with handy everyday ingredients and great-tasting Clover Leaf Salmon. (For extra eye appeal, try colourful red Sockeye.)

- 1 can (7.5 oz) Clover Leaf Salmon
- 2 tsp butter
- 1/4 cup chopped green pepper
- 1/4 cup chopped green onion
- 3 eggs
- 1 tbsp milk
- 1/2 tsp chili powder
- 1/4 cup salt and pepper
- 1/4 cup chopped tomatoes

Drain salmon into mixing bowl. Set aside. In skillet, melt butter. Sauté green pepper and onion until onion is tender. Drain and add vegetables into salmon sauce. Pour over vegetables. Cook over medium heat, stirring gently until eggs begin to set. Add tomato chunks and tomatoes. Cook until eggs are firm. Serves 2



## TUNA STIR FRY

Combined with colourful oriental-style vegetables, Clover Leaf's finest albacore—and your microwave—set up excitement in minutes!

- 1 can (7 oz) Clover Leaf Gold White Tuna
- 1/2 cup sliced green pepper
- 1/2 cup sliced mushrooms
- 1/3 cup sliced celery
- 1 tbsp cornstarch
- 1 tbsp water
- 1 tbsp soy sauce
- 1/4 tsp ground ginger
- Pinch onion powder

Drain tuna liquid into a 1 qt. casserole dish. Stir in green pepper, mushrooms and celery. Microwave, covered at high for 3 min. stir and cook halfway through cooking period. Combine remaining ingredients and to vegetables along with tuna. Stir in soy sauce, ginger, onion powder, and chili. Microwave at high for 2-3 1/2 min. or until tender. Stir halfway through cooking period. Let stand covered for 2 min. Serves 2



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BACARDI DARK RUM.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES WHITE FOR ADVERTISING CREATIVE

A RICH CARIBBEAN TASTE WITH THE SMOOTHNESS OF BACARDI.

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 21, 1996 VOL. 101 NO. 48

## CONTENTS

### 4 EDITORIAL

### 7 LETTERS/PASSAGES

### 10 OPENING NOTES

*James Baker seeks a good man for Ottawa; Joe Clark's tough fight in Yellowhead; parliamentary seats for sale; Margaret Atwood sets a record; the smug smell of excess; CBC TV's fight is the furthest; Signaurey Warner runs a reputation; bad timing for Stuy watches.*

### 13 COLUMN/DIANE FRANCIS

### 14 COVER/SPECIAL REPORT

*At the free trade election debate rages on, Maclean's presents exclusive interviews with the three party leaders.*

### 33 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

### 34 WORLD

*What the Bush presidency will mean to Canada; tales of torture from Somali refugees.*

### 45 SPORTS

*In the wake of the Ben Johnson scandal, the Dallas inquiry examines drugs in sports.*

### 47 HISTORY

*New evidence indicates Canadian Raymond Collins was the First World War's top ace.*

### 48 MEDIA WATCH/GEORGE BAIN

### 49 ESSAY

*In an excerpt from his new book, Sometimes a Great Notion, Maclean's columnist Peter C. Newman discusses free trade.*

### 54 ARCHITECTURE

*How Tropica North turns a Montreal winter.*

### 56 PEOPLE

### 57 FILMS

*A new Canadian feature enters the world of a Mexican movie in Toronto; Jessica Lange stars in two disasters.*

### 61 BOOKS

*James Michener's new novel enters the author's first excursion into the wilds of Canada's North.*

### 64 FOTHERINGHAM



## COVER

### ELECTION COUNTDOWN

*As Canadian voters prepare to choose a new Parliament and government next week, the harsh debate over the free trade deal has eclipsed all other election issues. The contradictory claims of ethics and supporters have heightened the confusion. In a 10-page examination of the complex free trade document, Maclean's offers a point-by-point explanation of the terms of the deal. — PTI*

## SPORTS

### LOOKING AT STEROID USE

*An inquiry in Toronto this week will try to establish whether or not fallen Olympic star Ben Johnson used anabolic steroids. It also will look into how widely the banned chemicals are used by other Canadian athletes. Last week, Johnson told Maclean's that he had not "knowingly" used steroids. — AS*



## WORLD

### BUSH SWEEPS TO VICTORY

*Republican George Herbert Walker Bush swept to a 40-state triumph over Democrat Michael Dukakis to be elected the 41st president of the United States. But the easy tone of the campaign—and Democratic control over Congress—seemed to promise the president-elect four years of conflict. — SA*





# A Passionate Debate

It has been the best of elections. It has been the worst of elections. On the positive side, there has been a passionate debate about an issue that matters to the future of the country: free trade. The off-note is that the overriding power of the campaign promises and the television soundbites has involved the election into a kind of three-legged race, announced by the pollsters, with voter commentary by the pundits. In the middle of the track stands a bewildered public, trying to come to grips with the free trade issue. Many people may know all too well what the party leaders say, but they do not necessarily know what the trade deal means.

In an effort to present an objective account of the contours of the free-trade free trade agreement for the last issue available before voting day, *Maclean's* this week offers a 16-page, point-by-point disquisition. In addition, the package includes an overview of how the trade issue influenced the party leaders during the election. Because the issue is also an affair of the heart, there are three pages of verbatim quotes from committed supporters and opponents.

Managing Editor Robert Lewis put together a special team of 11 editors and writers led by Executive Editor Sam Fleming and including Senior Writers D'Arcy Jenish, Mary-Jessie and John Belmont and Associate Editor Patricia Chisholm. Sam Fleming: "We hope that our account will help Canadians to reach an informed decision on Nov. 21."

As well as the special trade package, the election coverage offers exclusive interviews with the major party leaders and a campaign wrap-up by Ottawa Bureau Chief Ross Lewis and Correspondent Brent Williams, with reports from their colleagues travelling with the three campaigns. It was a true effort in co-operative journalism. The writers always get the play, but the silent workers in the *Maclean's* research, library, photo, production and art departments. Without them, the special issue would not have been possible.



Fleming (left), Jenish, Chisholm and Belmont: free co-operative journalism

*Kim W. Day*

## Maclean's

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INTRODUCES  
16-WHEEL DRIVE



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## LETTERS

### BEST IN PEACE

I just don't believe it, another article about John Lennon ("The storm over John Lennon," Cover, Oct. 17). It seems like every time I approach the magazine shelves of a store, I see one more picture of Lennon and one more proposal as to his torrid lifestyle. It appears life cannot go on for the living until every aspect of Lennon's private world has been dissected. Why the obsession? Lennon was humbled by the public while he was alive. John Lennon is dead. Let him rest in peace.

May Fraser,  
Victoria

Your cover story on John Lennon gave Albert Goldman, author of *The Case of John Lennon*, exactly what he deserves. Goldman said, "There is no element among this post-humous, violence-baiting rock 'n' roll leadership that would very much like to see my son killed as just another of the planet." I sensed that notion. Has he no respect for the dead or for the joy that Lennon brought his fans? The only place that this book deserves to go is into the fire.

Reynold de'Pruis,  
Bridgewater, N.S.

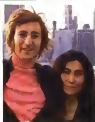
### REJUVENATING CHANGES

I am an editorial guru, but the time was ripe for Robert Fulford to depart from *Saturday Night* magazine ("First row, center," Books, Oct. 17). I came successfully close to letting my subscription lapse because the articles had become so horrendously long that *Saturday Night* was beginning to resemble a book-of-the-month-club. Accidents in John Fraser, who has re-created a dynamic world of writing, made some sense for those desiring to read more than one quality publication a month. Contrary to the claim of your article, both Fulford and Conrad Black were winners in the new arrangement. Fulford went on to new business and Black got a rejuvenating shot in the arm for his magazine.

Melanie Wright,  
Toronto

### UNFAIR DESCRIPTION

The quality of articles in *Maclean's* is usually excellent. However, your story about retired family court judge Maryse Bowler and the two-year agreement solely does not suit your high standards ("Victim as the judge," Canada, Oct. 31). How does her being a 72-year-old, gray-haired, bespectacled mother of three and grandmother of six, married to the same man for 46 years affect what she has to say about the Canada-U.S. trade pact? Perhaps International Trade Minister John Crosbie,



Lennon and wife, Yoko Ono, beamed.

whose picture and opinion are included in the article, should be described as a grey-haired, bespectacled, overweight father and grandfather. What you consider a fair description of Bowler should also apply to Crosbie.

Dorey E. Shinn,  
Edmonton

### SUBTLE MEANINGS

In your Nov. 7 issue, you printed an article about hunting ("Shooting to kill," Wildlife) in which there was an obvious—but subtle—general rights station, and two articles ("Abandoning," Medicine, and "A better test," Health) in which there were obvious—but again, subtle—graduate classes shown. Does this mean that *Maclean's* finds more value in the life of an animal than it does in the life of a human being?

William Gaur Jr.,  
Aurora, Que.

### LEAPS OF FAITH

In "The free flow of new information" (Opinion, Oct. 24), George Barn states that "it falls on the media to decide what is to be conveyed to the mass public." But when the government is trying to implement a bill of such magnitude as the Canada-U.S. trade pact, surely it is incumbent on the government to ensure that Canadians are given complete information about the contents of the deal. We should not have to rely solely on the expertise of the media. So far, the Tory government has failed to do so. It is too much to expect it to

## PASSAGES

**DIED:** Roy, David Souze, 64, the registered priest who, in the 1960s, nationalized respectability to Canada's international hockey efforts, at provincial court, at a Glendon, Ont., hospital near his family's cottage. A game-hockey star, the name of Kitchener, Ont., rose up a possible 100,000, only for the priesthood in 1960. He became a teacher and hockey coach at Toronto's St. Michael's College School, which produced many hockey stars. In 1962, Souze, who argued that players should develop both of white winter hockey, founded and coached a government-funded team built on college students. His program was a bronze medal in 1966, the last Olympic hockey medal won by Canada.

**DIED:** Roy Thomson Jr., 54, who was president of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police from 1970 to 1972, at a heart attack, in Auburn, N.S. McMahon, the author of new books, was also vice-president of the Baptist World Alliance from 1970 to 1972.

**RETIRED:** Supreme Court of Canada Justice Jean Beetz, 63, because of an undisclosed illness. A Montreal-born Quebecer, Beetz was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1974 by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Under court rules, Beetz may continue to write or take part in judgments for six months after his retirement date.

**DIED:** John Mitchell 78, who spent 19 months in jail for trying to cover up the Watergate scandal, which eventually re-



sulted in the 1974 resignation of President Richard Nixon, of a heart attack after collapsing on a Washington, D.C., sidewalk. Mitchell, Nixon's longtime attorney general and head of his 1972 re-election campaign, was convicted of conspiracy, obstruction of justice and perjury. A lawyer, Mitchell was debilitated and worked as a consultant after being released from jail.

**DIED:** Socialist-chromer painter and sculptor Ernest Lambert, 91, in Stouffville, Ontario. Lambert was the first Canadian-born artist to win the Nobel Prize in 1930. He is best-known for his detailed depictions of northern woods, with special emphasis on the cycle of nature's process of birth, growth, death and decay. Lambert was a member of both the Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts and the Order of Canada.



take such a great leap of faith based solely on the hypothetical rankings of partisan politicians.

Ann Criswell  
Toronto

#### PAINFUL HISTORY

In the article "Delicat of a delusion" (World Oct. 17), you have succinctly summarized the painful history of Chile from the time it was Latin America's ideal democracy through the past 15 years under the Pinochet dictatorship. What may be forgotten is the role played by the CIA, with direction from Washington that putted the fragile democracy, along with orders from the White House to "make the Chilean economy scream." A sobering thought comes to mind: a former CIA director will now occupy the same White House.

Bert Swagrove  
Aurora, Ont.

#### FORGETTING MAJOR PLAYERS

I have watched Nothing more has been learned. Maclean's omitted the deaths of Pierre Leclerc and Jean Marchand with one small column (Pinnings Aug. 22, Sept. 13). How can you be Canada's weekly newsmagazine when you forget people who have played major roles in Canada's recent history?

Lois Oleson  
Charlebourg, Que.

#### 'AN ICICLE IN HELL'

The Oct. 17 issue of Maclean's contained what is, in my view, a remarkable misstatement. That issue contained "Pinnings right," so titled on the Canadiana edition (Aurora), as well as the opinion of economist John Kenneth Galbraith ("An uncertain outlook." Biscuit). It was Galbraith who wrote in a letter to the

London Times, April 5, 1981, that "there isn't a chance approaching that of an icicle in hell that the Concord will ever be allowed to touch down in American airports." With tongue in cheek, I suggest that the professor should have followed his current advice—"leave predictions to the next column."

William J. Phillips  
Halifax

#### BACKSTABBING PEERS

In "A critical debate" (Canada, Oct. 24), you mention voters' questioning of John Turner's competence as leader. Few leaders have had to deal with the delay and backstabbing. Turner has experienced from his political people what his own party, these so-called Liberals have not only failed to give him support but appear to have put their own party and selfish ego and/or lust for power ahead of

Turner! It's your last chance to make the right move...

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for citizens and only of their own party and its leader. Turner has handled all of it with integrity and perseverance and has shown himself to be a class act. If the Liberals lose this election, the blame will very likely fall on Turner, instead of where it belongs—with his own party peers who failed to support him.

Margaret Foster  
New Brunswick

#### LITTLE-KNOWN FIGHTER

World Boxing Council light-heavyweight champion Danny LaDuca is a "little-known" Canadian because for almost 30 years ("Fighting for glory," Sports, Oct. 20) I can assure you that if LaDuca were from Toronto, he would have been in the cover of *Maple* the week after he won the wbc crown.

D. Michael Johnson  
Winnipeg

#### WARD-WINNING ACT

John Turner deserves an acting award for his performance during the party leaders' TV debates ("An election during party," Canada, Nov. 7). Unfortunately, the passion and commitment he displayed on TV were absent when he and his caucus missed two crucial votes in Parliament on the issue of free trade. I think Turner has discovered that as the new man that might save his political neck.

David Bely  
Surrey, Ont.

#### DISGRACEFUL ATTITUDE

It is insulting to say that a man connected to a Canadian court, which he does not even have the common courtesy to attend and who does not carry out his voluntary sentence can receive such sympathy in your article regarding ("The protest parading," Canada, Oct. 31). This man is guilty of an unbelievable number of parking violations. His cavalier attitude is a disgrace, and it is not surprising his license could only cost \$500.

Bruce Kennedy  
Newmarket

#### MERE SIMULATION

This was a lovely picture of Bruce Maloney visiting a Georgian College flight camp. I bet ("The new tricks at an old trade," Cover, Oct. 31) What you neglected to mention is that this picture was a phony setup. The federal government under Maloney's tutelage has pulled the plug on funding Georgian for the type of training, and, on the day this picture was taken, everyone had to scramble around and dig up props to illustrate what used to be. The Conservatives have very quickly pulled a lot of plugs on funding realistic ventures, such as the training stated above, in favor of greasy Quebec and the Maritimes hope grants to carry their liner at oblique tone.

Wilson and Holly Mead  
Newmarket Ont.

When you mention "the country's booming economy" in "The new tricks at an old trade," don't you sense Canada's booming economy? Toronto's leading articles like this might be accused to think that their prosperity is being likewise enjoyed across the nation, and not just in the Golden Triangle.

Rick Rutherford,  
Winnipeg

#### OUTRAGEOUS OFFENCE

Reading your article concerning Dr. Eben Cameron and the CIA ("Settling with the CIA," Justice, Oct. 27), I was outraged to think that the CIA had engaged in dragging and browbeating people without their knowledge. Although the CIA is not completely responsible for the damages incurred by some of the people Cameron experimented on, it did provide funding for these experiments. The sum of \$807,500 in damages does not address the seriousness of the offence, and I feel the CIA should be held more responsible. The CIA has been exposed in the past for unethical practices, but no operation like this makes one wonder about the sincerity of such a powerful organization.

Colleen Ferguson,  
Victoria

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply names, addresses and telephone numbers. Mac's correspondence to Letters is in the Editors' Mailbox column. Please use the following address: Letters, 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1G7.

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# OPENING NOTES

Sigourney Weaver visits Farley Mowat, Joe Clark battles a giant-killer and John Irving strikes a memorable deal

## A NEW MAN IN OTTAWA

James Baker, the man slated to become secretary of state in the administration of U.S. president-elect George Bush, is keeping a close eye on the Canadian federal election. As he prepares for his new role, Baker is trying to choose a strong replacement for Thomas Miles, U.S. ambassador to Canada. Desired one: Washington-based Republican. "If the Liberals win and the free trade pact can't be renegotiated, the new ambassador will have the unenviable job of keeping the overall trade relationship on track. If the Conservatives are returned, they are obviously not going to have a big majority and will need all the help they can get pushing the pact ahead." The official added that Baker is considering James Bobison, chairman of American Express Co. for the job. "Bobison is a brilliant executive," he said. "At any other time, the Ottawa job really wouldn't be big enough for him." If Baker has his way, Bobison may leave home—without his American Express portfolio.

Baker choosing a strong ambassador to push free trade deal



## The relative nature of success

For Margaret Atwood, the sale of English-language rights to her latest novel set a potential record. According to industry sources, Dell Books purchased the Canadian paperback rights to Clark's *Joe* last June for approximately \$180,000. Atwood's commercial status has been undeniably new. In 1984, when *The Handmaid's Tale* premiered on the New York Times best-seller list for 23 weeks, *Sold* Toronto literary agent Lorraine Wiley "I really loved her novel," said Atwood's dual agent in comparison to the one that Random House of Canada Ltd. struck with U.S. author John Irving earlier this month. Random agreed to pay well over \$240,000 for the Canadian paperback rights to Irving's latest novel, *A Prayer for Owen Meany*. Irving received

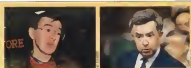


Through his own Canadiana connections

that amount through his own Canadian connections. His wife, literary agent Janet Turnbull. The couple met in Toronto in 1986 when Irving was giving a reading from a draft version of *Meany*. Success is relative.

## PARLIAMENTARY SEAT SALE

The House of Commons is in the business of selling seats—at \$600 apiece. The 49 retiring federal MPs are being offered the chance to buy their own parliamentary chairs—but only one MP has agreed to purchase the unique souvenir. Said they backbencher Vincent Drouin, who represented the B.C. riding of Okanagan North for eight years: "This is the bargain of a lifetime." Meanwhile, electoral redistribution has raised the total number of MPs to 296 from 282. But with a seating capacity of 296, the House has chairs for them all.



Manning Clark. Calgary businessmen build a candidate's war chest

## FUNDING FOR THE UNDERDOG

Joe Clark is confident of re-election in Alberta's forthcoming riding. But, the cabinet minister has acknowledged that one challenger, Preston Manning, leader of the Reform party and the son of former Alberta premier Ernest Manning, will likely shake the Tory margin of victory. Clark, who won by more than 36,900 votes in 1984, has previously predicted that he will beat Manning by about 2,500 votes. Manning, a naturalized immigrant whose right-wing party

champions Western interests, has found support for his populist role. A group of Calgary businessmen—separately including Arthur Chisholm, chairman of Burns Foods Ltd.—promised to back Manning if he ran against Clark. Chisholm would cut corners on the war chest, but Reform party officials have confirmed that Manning's election spending will approach the permitted level of \$50,000. Gun-falling in an expensive endeavor.



Weaver and forest: preserving a reputation

## A question of rape

When actress Sigourney Weaver pulled up in a stretch limousine outside Farley Mowat's home in Port Hope, Ont., the author greeted her for a drink of white 75 was June 1987, and Mowat had just finished writing *Forever*. The *Parsons of Dane Forest*, a biography that examines the U.S. biologist's 18 years studying mountain gorillas in eastern Africa. The phenomenon was preparing to portray *Forever* in *Gorillas in the Mist*, a recently released film that deals with the biologist's supposed murder in 1985. Weaver wanted to learn more about *Forever* and to determine the accuracy of a script scene in which she was propositioned by Drouin's son. Indeed, some of *Forever*'s critics—no leading local names—claimed that the alleged rape had unfolded her novel. Initially, Mowat refused to acknowledge that the incident had not been rape. The writer later told his U.S. publisher, Warner Books, who hoped to sell rights to a *Forever* movie based on *Forever*. But, recalled Mowat, "She appeared so genuinely concerned about *Forever*'s reputation," that he allowed Weaver to study the letters and journals. Armed with that information Weaver persuaded her producers to drop the scene—and, in the process, preserve *Forever*'s reputation.

## The eternal smell of excess

Regular readers of fashion magazines have become accustomed to the scented secrets of perfume manufacturers. But when readers of *The Globe* and *Mail* opened their newspapers on Nov. 2, many were unprepared for the aroma. Included with the paper was the *Globe's* fashion magazine, *Domeno*—and a powerful dose of *Eternity*, a perfume developed by U.S. designer Calvin Klein. *Domeno's* editor, Ray Munson, who received nearly 300 complaints about the scent, may pull the ad from future issues. For many *Globe* readers, the most smell was excessive.

## WOODSMEN, SPARE THOSE VIEWERS

The forests of British Columbia are a prime source of jobs, revenue—and controversy. In fact, the debate between loggers and environmentalists has become so heated that CBC TV recently banned a series of commercials on the grounds that forestry management had become a contentious issue. For the past two years, the Council of Forest Industries has been running radio, television and print messages as part of a \$1-million of campaign leading the industry's reclamation efforts. Environmentalists are arguing that the network's decision blocks those forest industry commercials they had been preparing in a rebuttal. But the network's stand is firm: viewers can't see the forests or the trees.

## A TALE OF BAD TIMING

Some Corp., which produced the first of its durable electronic equipment, has a new product on the market a day after the death of Gerts Wahl, which retails for \$6.99. Because a highly colored, vibrant result of the end. "According to Sony spokesman, the company was in danger of customers between the ages of 12 and 17, those most likely to spot electronically enhanced images.

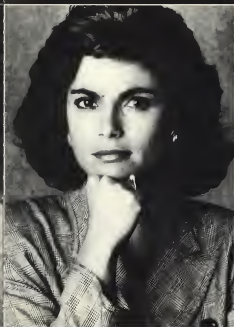
tion, chances of first or later-life women. U.S. residents have already ordered three million of the throwaway tape. But Sony issued a major apology to persuade the Columbia station to pull the tape. The watch was missing from the Canadian City of Toronto. Another two Sony in Toronto to last August, an important source at some for department stores, books. "Sony is a company that is looking at the watch, but it's not a Sony watch," said Sony's lawyer. "Sony's timing was off."



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*Richard Brown*

Richard Brown



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*Thalia Assuras*

Thalia Assuras

## Brown and Assuras: A Team Effort



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#### The Human Energy Behind Nuclear Energy

Dr. Eve Rosengat is the Director, Waste Management Concept Review with Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL). She is responsible for managing all aspects of the review of AECL's concept for used nuclear fuel disposal. Dr. Rosengat has an M.Sc. degree in Chemical Engineering and a PhD in Chemistry and has been involved in the radioactive waste program since 1976. Dr. Rosengat is seen here at the used fuel storage pool at Gentilly 2 Generating Station in Quebec.

## Nuclear Waste in Canada WHAT'S IN STORE

It looks just like a swimming pool. You can walk around it and gaze into the luminescent blue water. And while you might be tempted to dive in, the purpose of this pool is far from recreational.

"This is where we store used nuclear fuel", explains Dr. Eve Rosengat, a scientist with the team responsible for waste disposal research.

"CANDU reactors are powered by fuel bundles made up of uranium pellets sealed within zirconium tubes. Bundles are harmless to handle before they're put in the reactor. However, upon removal a year and a half later, they are highly radioactive and must be treated with respect."

#### On-site Storage

The used fuel is stored at electricity generating stations - each station has its own pool. Ordinary water cools the fuel and shields workers from radiation.

"This storage method has been used safely since 1962 when Canada's first nuclear power plant went into operation. And it will continue to be used in the future. But if we did nothing more, future generations would have to continue to monitor and maintain the storage facilities."

"Nuclear reactors produce very little used fuel. The total amount in Canada by the year 2020 would fill only three Olympic size swimming pools."

#### Permanent Disposal

"Since 1978, members of Canada's scientific and engineering community, government departments, universities and private industry have been working together on a multi-barrier concept of disposal. In this concept, used fuel bundles

would be encased in a corrosion-resistant container. The containers would be buried in an engineered vault deep in the rock of the Canadian Shield, one of the most stable geological formations in the world."

"Today after many years of research, we understand enough to say with confidence that used nuclear fuel can be safely and permanently disposed of in this way."

This concept for permanent disposal is now being prepared for an independent environmental review and public hearings. Site selection will not occur until the concept has been accepted.

#### Environmental Responsibility

"Nuclear energy offers an environmentally clean and efficient method of electricity production - it does not contribute to acid rain or the greenhouse effect."

"The nuclear industry has taken responsibility for its used fuel from day one. We do know how to handle it. Used nuclear fuel represents only a small fraction of all toxic wastes produced by industry."

"I believe that the technologies we are now developing for permanent disposal of used nuclear fuel will one day be used in dealing with other kinds of toxic waste."

For more information please contact:  
The Canadian Nuclear Association, Dept. M20  
111 Elizabeth St., Toronto, Ontario M5G 1P7  
Call toll-free: 1-800-367-4477  
or visit any one of our CANDU stations in Canada.

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*David Mulroney*



**CBC Television**

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**CBC Election Night  
8:00 pm**

## COLUMN



# The panic over free trade

BY DIANE FRANCIS

**I**t is a rainy and dreary day in Montreal as I look down from my hotel room onto the newly named Boulevard René-Lévesque. I am at the tail end of an exhausting book-promotion tour and I am reeling between radio stars. Suddenly, on my last day of touring, somebody wants to talk about my book. Free trade, not white-collar crime, is the hot topic—whether it is on opaline shoes in airport lounges, airplanes, hotel lobbies or restaurants. Nobody has been listening to the free trade debate for two years, while people like me have been writing about little else. How much depressing, this beneficial trade policy in my mind.

The root of the problem is that the voters have come to the issue late, it is too complex, and they have not made up their minds. That is disappointing because there is probably more information available about the deal than any other in history. The media, economic think-tanks and academics have been preoccupied for years with it, but the public seems to have been reading gossamer or advice columns instead. "It is true that free trade will wreck the environment and our culture," says a Winnipeg housewife on a flight across the Prairies. "I don't want to give up my perfume or medical benefits," said a retiree on the same flight. In a nutshell, concerns that the deal robs us of our environment, Canadian culture, agricultural businesses, wine, energy, pensions or medical plans are pure poppycock. And I have studied the deal carefully.

Nor faced with little time and less inclination to become experts, voters park with the Liberals. Experts are perceived as partisan traitors and economic models and so-called experts who disagree vehemently. Besides that, most Canadians have been spending the last two years raising tails, paying mortgages and working hard at their jobs. The undecided and frightened choose John Turner because he represents their doubts, raises their self-esteem, represents and, well, makes a good deal, is leader of a relatively safe alternative party.

Most depressing of all are headlines like "Free trade leaves already driving jobs south." The Toronto Star quotes a businessman protected by tariffs who says that he has had 98 of his 1,306 Canadian workers and opened a new plant in Mississippi in anticipation of free trade. Missing from the story is the caveat that if the deal does not go through, and he still hopes to sell into the U.S. market, he will probably have to shift even more of his operations down there.

The average tariff on American goods entering the Canadian market is 3.8 per cent—the figure is low because 65 per cent of American imports pass duty-free. But for goods entering the United States, the average is only 1.2 per cent. The principle behind free trade was reciprocity through the removal of most of those tariffs and, without it, U.S. businessmen will clamor for Canadian tariff cuts and removal of our currency advantages.

Ironically, in 1971, mostly families and passengers in the company units had doubts, unlike most men and those in business class. One such sentiment was deflated because his German parent company would have been planning plans for Canada if the deal did not have a better trade partner in the

United States. One Toronto food-processing executive said that without the deal, his U.S. parent could not quadruple production in Toronto as planned to serve the entire continent even though its Canadian operations—thanks to lower labor rates and a stronger weak dollar—was its lowest-cost producer in North America.

Without free trade, the branch plant stays in or is built. With free trade, most of Canadian manufacturing will reap the same benefits derived from the Auto Pact, a restricted free trade deal. Next year, about 15 per cent of all cars and trucks assembled in North America will be assembled in southern Ontario because Canadian labor rates, work habits and productivity attracted billions of dollars worth of investment here by large-owned manufacturers.

But Canadians do not reflect such economic realities. That is because the political economy has begun writing about economics in this election. It is also because people will not accept that getting a fix on free trade is like trying to go jelly to a wall. Besides, businessmen with concrete ideas cannot go jelly—their foreign business are either reluctant to make into a sensitive political issue or unwilling to try competitors off about their plans. Per voters who exist on caricatures, about the only one is that the Liberals, with or without free trade, is uncertain. That is hardly profound, and yet the negative out-of-control has been twisted by free trade opponents to "prove" that the Tories are hiding information from the public. Meanwhile, these same critics would ask us to believe their dark predictions.

By all credible and totally independent economic accounts, free trade is beneficial in both sides but the extent of benefits cannot be quantified and depends upon other economic assumptions. The reason for the fussiness is simply that the deal has not happened. It is, as former Liberal cabinet minister and free trade fan Donald MacDonald says, "a leap of faith."

That leap across nations even though the economic history of Canada is a story of such leaps—first the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Act, the Auto Pact, the new Competition Act and dozens of other economic treaties with our neighbors which have paid off, but often unpredictably, shared our lives. That is why watching the race on Boulevard René-Lévesque, I shake my head at the strange situation. I have not elected despite a dramatic agenda because he promised the people a referendum. The safe way to judge free trade is to try it. Brian Mulroney must offer voters a referendum after it has been in effect for two or three years.

Even the first to admit that Mulroney may be the wrong broker, dugged as he is by scandals elsewhere, John Turner poses the biggest threat to our social progress—extensive spending promises—and the same electorate lets him get away with it. Even now depressing in the slide in our dollar and stock markets as a direct result. And to those who would say, So what if big business or foreigners do not like it, I would be the first to agree that it is Canada's business what we do in Canada. But nobody has to do business with us either.

## GOOD-NEIGHBOR POINT

An agreement between Quebec and Ontario to share traffic violation information will take effect next April. Under the agreement, the provinces' highway acts, a protocol from one province who is convicted of a driving offence in the other will have license points deducted from his license.

## TURN OF LAND CLAIMS

After more than 35 years of land claims negotiations, Yukon Indians reached an agreement in principle with the federal and territorial governments. The deal involves more than \$215 million in compensation and 16,000 square miles of land—about three-quarters the size of Nova Scotia—the 6,500 natives who have conquered the territory's population.

## NEW GIFT CHAIRMAN

Delegates to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade named John Weeks, Canada's ambassador to the GATT, as their new elected chairman. The GATT moved its organization headquarters to Brussels among 96 member countries.

## ANOTHER PRIEST CHARGED

Rev. John Corrigan, a Roman Catholic priest in St. John's, Me., was charged with one sexual offense against young boys between 1981 and 1984. Two months ago, Rev. James Richey of St. John's received a five-year sentence after pleading guilty to similar charges.

## LEAVING A MAJORIOR

Gerardo Alvarado Gonzalez left South America the federal Young Offenders Act for the expected release next February of a teenager who murdered a Scarborough, Ont., family of three in 1985. The act sets a maximum three-year sentence for minors for youths under the age of 18.

## SMOKING BOW

Anti-smoking groups charged that pro-smoking tougher health warnings on cigarette packs, to take effect next Feb. 31, are too weak and a sellout to the tobacco industry. The organizations wanted warnings to take up 50 per cent of the space on a package. The proposals would have the warnings cover 20 per cent of the package.

## HANKER SIMMS

The 65,000-ton British oil tanker *Olympic* broke apart, caught fire and sank in mid-Atlantic seas while halfway to its Newfoundland destination. Searchers later recovered 150 bodies but not one of the 21 crew members.



Mulroney in Mississippi, Ont. (left). Turner in Windsor, Ont. (single issue)

## COVER/SPECIAL REPORT

## Election Countdown



Relieved and delighted, John Turner sat slumped in the cockpit of his chartered private jet as it sped through the northern New Brunswick countryside. It was Oct. 18, nine days into the campaign, and the Liberal leader had just delivered a rambling, 30-minute speech on the radio to about 1,500 voters in a Compton, N.B., hockey rink. Now, as Turner sat his tour director, Douglas Kirkpatrick, drive to meet the Liberal campaign plane on a base and a half away in Chatham, N.B., the two men searched for a way to breathe life into the party's lackluster drive to the Nov. 21 election. As Turner saw it, the only part of his starved stump speech that averally brought supporters to their feet was his blunt attack on the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. "That's what gets people roused up—the real just act working," said Turner. From there on, he and Kirkpatrick decided, the Liberal leader would throw every prepared line and extemporized remark on defining his

## NINE DAYS INTO THE CAMPAIGN, JOHN TURNER MADE A DECISION THAT REVIVED THE LIBERALS

postulate appeals to Canadian voters. That decision may have saved the Liberal campaign. The next night in Sydney, N.S., Turner put aside a planned speech on regional development and launched into an emotionally charged assault on the trade pact. And about 1,060 Liberals crowding the 18,000-seat gymnasium loved every minute of it, interrupting

him five times with standing ovations. Later, Turner's advisers would look back on that night as a watershed in the country's 36th federal election—the moment when the Liberal campaign, crippled by debt, external disunion and rock-bottom morale, became a single-issue crusade. Newly imported, Turner, outside Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and New Democrats Party leader Edward Broadbent in the informal leaders' debate on Oct. 24 and 25. By tapping into Canadians' deeply rooted anxieties about American economic and cultural domination, Turner transformed what many observers had predicted would be a Tory landslide into an election too close to call.

Mulroney fought back vigorously against the Liberal onslaught, but a series of public opinion polls released last week showed that the Tories and the Liberals were locked in a narrow battle for first place, with NDP support dwindling. Rising weather drama, shift in public sentiment, the polls suggested, had the party now likely to form a majority government after Nov. 21—a result that would mean virtually

win the trade agreement. At week's end all three party leaders denounced their free trade partners and the market changes in the campaign interviews with *Maclean's* pages 21 to 32. For his part, Mulroney said that he intends to restrain the legislature to put the trade deal into effect even if the Tories are re-elected with a majority government. But Broadbent said that he would not co-operate with any attempt to strengthen the current free trade agreement.

Meanwhile, Tory strategists were preparing to ask Mulroney for written assurances that second progress would not be affected by the agreement. And U.S. President Ronald Reagan planned to deliver the deal in a Nov. 17 speech on international trade policy. While House speaker, Michael Dukakis, in ensuring the plan last week denied that Reagan was attempting to help Mulroney sway Canadian voters, Dan Fitzmaurice and Mulroney's spokesman, Bruce Phillips, denied that for Prime Minister had appeared to Reagan for support. And the uncertainty over free trade across Canada, away from Ottawa, were looking back onto the campaign and wondering how they carefully laid election plans had gone away. Some went so far as to argue that Mulroney had misjudged the free trade issue over the past three years by treating it as not all his government's top priorities. In so doing, some advisers said, the Tories gave the two opposition parties an easy target. Said one senior strategist: "We made a dreadful mistake. Free trade was so much more a choice, but you could not convince anyone of that. Instead, we blew it into a hot issue and drew people's attention to it." Another senior Tory campaign spokesman, director Harry Neer, ac-

knowledgeed to Mulroney that the government had misjudged the potential public backlash against the trade pact. Said Neer: "Canadian feel comfortable with the status quo and they see free trade as a change."

As the campaign entered the final stretch, both Mulroney and Broadbent focused most of their attacks on Turner. Among their threats, Turner should explain how he would pay for what the Tories estimated took \$37.7 billion in campaign expenses, particularly since he had also vowed to cancel the Tory government's planned new national sales tax. But Premier Minister Michael Wilson denied the Tory attack somewhat by saying that several billion dollars worth of projects that the Tories announced in the months leading up to the campaign, including the Wilfrid and Laurier energy megaprojects, could not be called election spending promises. Instead, Wilson called the Tory announcement government "spending commitments" in the financial news column.

In Halifax, meanwhile, the war leader, turning away from his campaign-long attack on the Conservatives, described Turner as a class right winger who has focused opposition to the trade agreement in a cynical grab for power. Said Broadbent: "I believe John Turner to be one of the most conservative men ever to enter public life in this country." Still, some NDP activists were clearly worried that their leader had failed to convince voters that he, not Turner, was the champion of the sovereignty against free trade. Said Allen Corbett, a Hal-







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## COVER

otherwise was considered to be subversive."

The Tories also acknowledged that they did not expect Turner to be able to keep the focus of the campaign on trade. "We know that they would use emotional arguments against free trade, but we did not think that Turner could keep a campaign of that size for more than 30 days," said Senator Michel Gagné, co-chairman of the Conservative campaign. And some senior Tories acknowledged that they were not prepared for the ferocity of Turner's attack. Said John Laschinger, the Toronto-based communications consultant who directed a \$13.4-million pro-free-trade advertising campaign for the Tories earlier this year: "I suppose there was always that soft underbelly of love for Canadian sovereignty." But Laschinger defended his ad strategy. "We were not trying to defend the trade deal against misrepresentations," he said. "To expect us to have been prepared for [Turner's] charges that social programs are not protected in the agreement is like saying I should have been telling people that we were not in the agreement."

Basically, the Liberals themselves had serious doubts about the effectiveness of a campaign based almost entirely on opposition to free trade despite the fact that such grassroots organizations as the Pro-Canada Network had already launched nationwide assaults against the pact. To test whether such a narrowly based strategy could succeed, Liberal Senator Michael Kirby—currently co-chairman of the party's campaign strategy committee—con-



**Rickhey** 'We are basically cautious.'

conducted a poll last July by Toronto-based Goldfish Consultants, a firm in which he is a partner. The survey suggested that Canadians were worried more about higher taxes and the quality of the environment than about the impact of free trade. Moreover, the party's principal Quebec advisers—including late An-

driel Gauthier and Raymond Gennaro—told Turner that running an anti-free-trade platform would be tantamount to committing political suicide in that province.

At first, Turner acquiesced. When the Liberals unveiled their 46-point policy platform on Sept. 18, free trade was ranked third in importance as an issue, after the environment and tax reform. In Quebec, the party's campaign advertising scarcely mentioned free trade, focusing instead on allegations of Tory corruption. Said one senior Liberal adviser: "Kirby and Gauthier had no confidence in Turner's ability to lead a fight against free trade. They even tried to keep him out of the discussion because they were convinced that Turner was a vote-loser."

Those tensions were evident in the early days of the campaign. In Montreal on Oct. 5, Turner suffered through an embarrassing news conference during which he was unable to provide details about his party's child-care program. Finally, with polls suggesting that the Liberals had sunk to third place and reports of party infighting dominating the nightly newscasts, Turner told party officials that he had decided to end his campaign by ignoring most of the Liberal platform and concentrating on free trade. "I'm going to go down," a senior aide quipped Turner as saying two weeks into the campaign, "I am going to do it my way."

By then, the Liberals knew that their hopes of a recovery depended almost entirely on Turner's performance in the scheduled debates. The

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COVER

## WILSON SAYS TORY MEGAPROJECTS WERE NOT ELECTION EXPENDITURES

long-awaited breakthrough came in the third and final hour of the English-language discussion, when Turner accused Mulroney of signing a deal that would reduce Canada "to a colony of the United States."

Yet even Turner's own advisers were acknowledged to Mulroney's that the exchange might never have occurred had it not been for a stroke of good fortune. The three networks that sponsored the debate had earlier planned to devote most of the final hour to questions about such issues as nuclear rights, allowed leadership but with time running out in the final 10 minutes between Mulroney and Turner, Lucio Sotgiu, then general manager of news programming for Global TV, consulted with his counterparts at the CBC and CTV, then relayed a message to the panel of journalists to story the debate back to live trade. Said a Liberal official at the TV executive's microphone: "If it hadn't been for

that decision, we would have been finished."

Even Broadbent acknowledged that the dramatic exchange altered the course of the campaign. Since then, said the NDP leader, Turner has emerged as the undisputed champion of the anti-free trade forces. But Broadbent insisted that the NDP would not change its long-planned strategy of campaigning on a wide range of issues rather than concentrating on the trade pact. According to some polls last week, voter support for the NDP was hovering near 24 per cent, roughly 15 points behind the others. But if free trade was the only issue in the campaign, the NDP leader told Mulroney's "the NDP would be at zero at the polls."



Sherry-Torres insisted

By refusing to alter his campaign to address the potency of the free trade issue, Broadbent, too, may have missed the mood of the Canadian electorate. Said Canadian historian Bruce Hutchins: "Canadians love sherry-bene, but

essentially frightened of becoming a colony of the United States. And by going for 'bene on free trade, Turner has played to those fears with great success." That fear of American domination, say some observers, is a prominent component of the Canadian psyche. Said Mulroney's chief speechwriter, "We are basically a cautious people who resist change."

Clearly, the bitterness of the campaign will not dissipate quickly. Some Quebec Tories issued dire warnings about the future of Canadian federalism if the anti-free trade forces succeed in killing the trade pact. "There will be a wave of demagoguery if we lose," said Secretary of State Lucien Bouchard. Meanwhile, Canadian business leaders—many of them campaigning for free trade through an umbrella organization, The Canadian Alliance for Trade and Job Opportunities—voiced concerns about further relations with the United States without a trade deal. Said Peter Nicholson, executive assistant to the chairman of the Bank of Nova Scotia: "The one certainty is that it will be a long time before a Canadian politician dares to tangle with our relationship with the Americans." Whatever the outcome on Nov. 27, the force of passions released over free trade has taught the country's leaders a lesson they will not soon forget.

**ROSS LAYNE and BRUCE WALLACE**  
in Ottawa and BILLY MACKENZIE  
in VANCOUVER. PHOTOS BY MARK CLARK on the  
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Douglas hospital—championing a penalty against patients able to vote

## DEMOLISHING OLD BARRIERS

THE MENTALLY ILL GET THE VOTE



For thousands of Canadians, the ruling provided one of the basic rights of citizenship. Last month, Federal Court Justice Bertha Kline struck down an unconstitutional section of the Canada Elections Act that denied the vote to "every person who is restrained of his liberty of movement... by reason of mental disease." Reed's decision has the support of advocacy groups for the mentally ill and has inspired a raft of other people extremely serious psychiatric treatment. For her part, Justice Wilson, who wrote a dissenting ruling for a blind law student, has received mental health treatment since 1966—occasionally as a result but mostly on an outpatient basis. While, 40, his severest form of a treatment facility during a federal election. But, she said, "It concerned me that a right most people take for granted could be taken away from us just by virtue of where we live and at a particular time."

The Federal Court ruling affects more than 30,000 people undergoing treatment for mental illness and 20,000 usually handicapped people living in institutions across Canada. The severity of individual illnesses and handicaps

prevents many of them from taking advantage of their new right. And controversy still surrounds the emancipation process for residents, which some advocacy groups claim differs from how other Canadians are emancipated. Still, the decision has been welcomed. John Tardif, chief executive officer of Vancouver's Kinsmen psychiatric hospital, said that the ruling "further protects the fundamental rights" because an individual is suffering from a mental illness, he added, "does not mean that their awareness is impaired."

At the same time, many politicians also said that the ruling was long overdue. Gilbert Chartrand, the Conservative councillor for the Montreal area riding of Verdun St. Paul, praised the decision because he said that it eliminated a penalty against patients capable of voting. But Chartrand, whose riding includes the 500-patient Douglas psychiatric hospital, "There are some who are really too confused and don't understand the

voting process, but they are the minority."

In addition to the ruling, Elections Canada, the parliamentary agency that administers federal elections, had emancipated its institutionalized residents four questions: are they Canadian citizens, are they 18 or older, were they a resident 10 days before emancipation began, and do they still expect to be a resident on Nov. 21—the date of the election. Only residents who were capable of answering those questions, and answered them positively, had their names added to the voters' list. But Deville Radford, legal counsel for the Toronto-based Canadian Association for Community Living, an advocacy group for the mentally handicapped, noted that many Canadians do not have to answer an emancipation's questions personally—wherever answers the door often speaks for the whole household.

Meanwhile, some hospital officials were concerned about ensuring that residents, most of whom will vote in polling stations set up at the individual institutions, were adequate and informed regarding to candidates and information. At the Woodlands Institution, a treatment center for the mentally handicapped in British Columbia's New Westminster thereby ruling, officials set up classes to explain the voting process to residents and held an all-candidates meeting.

The number of residents emancipated has varied from institution to institution. Because of the severity of their disabilities, many patients could not be emancipated. At Vancouver's Kinsmen, where returning officer Denise Brown set up a room-to-room visit for emancipations, 479 of the 900 patients have been emancipated. But although all 196 residents at the Thomas Regional Centre in Oshawa, Ont., a home for the moderately to severely handicapped, have been registered to vote, only about 80 residents are expected to cast a ballot.

Some spokesmen for advocacy groups and many members of the public have argued that the Federal Court ruling is not particularly useful because many patients are not capable of understanding the electoral process. In fact, spokesmen say, unless the past of the ruling. But David Wetmore, executive director of the Winnipeg office of the Association for Community Living, "The big implication is that once the commission has an opportunity and an obligation to get to touch with these people." From the point of view of Wetmore and other advocates, the ruling has not just allowed the mentally ill and handicapped to vote. It has also relieved their status as citizens.



Chartrand: a new deal

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COVER

## The French facts

*In Quebec, Tories bank on the PM's appeal*

**T**he empty recreation centres in the quiet towns along the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River had a welcoming atmosphere that was missing in many of the others that he had visited. First Tory campaign workers frantically set up the podium from which Prime Minister Brian Mulroney would address party loyalists. It would be the 12th speech in six days for Mulroney, whose campaign strategy called for a roaming rally to end each day of campaigning. When he finally appeared, the Prime Minister did not need a prepared text; he was speaking to a familiar crowd at the Charlevoix riding, which anchors his home town of Iles-de-la-Groix. And the native son did not disappoint the 300 Quebecers who packed the centre's guest room. Said Mulroney: "It can't be New Canada today to tell you I kept my word," referring to his promises of economic prosperity and national unity. The Prime Minister's acceptance by the home crowd—and his popularity among small-town Quebecers generally—is one of the Conservatives' most significant assets. For many governments have ever been forced

without substantial strength in Quebec. Although Mulroney's popularity may give the Tories an edge in Quebec, the province presents challenges of culture and language for all three parties that they do not find anywhere else in Canada. Over the years, national parties with leaders from Quebec have tended to have the most success in the province. The Conservatives went into the 1984 campaign emphasizing that it was the first election in Canadian history that pitted a Quebec-born Conservative chief against a Liberal leader—John Turner—from outside of the province. And so the parties again fight for the allegiance of Quebec, that strategy remains largely the same for the Conservatives. The Liberals and the New Democrats are countering by highlighting the strength of their Quebec ties and maintaining the

importance of their anglophone leaders. Many observers attributed the overwhelming Tory victory nationally in 1984 to a mixture of Mulroney's personal appeal, political shrewdness, some fortunate timing—and the improving weakness of the Liberals in their traditional stronghold of Quebec. There, the Tories found their advantage at Mulroney, while in other provinces the anglophone was on the Tory team. That tactic grew more from necessity than from any desire to foster a Tory leadership cult. At the time, Mulroney was almost the only Conservative in Quebec who was familiar to most members of the electorate. Said Louis Bouchard, vice-president of Gallup Canada Inc. (pollsters): "Quebec has never voted for a native son—ever."



Mulroney: home-town son

In the 1984 landslide, the Tories won 64 of Quebec's 75 seats. But it is still unclear whether Mulroney can plead permanent. Conservative support in a province that had not steadily supported the party since 1958, when John Diefenbaker's Tories won 50 seats there. But Mulroney's decision to make a political stop in Quebec Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa's largely a collection of independents to try to do just that. And two of the Mulroney government's major undertak-

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# Peace of mind.



Turner at Montreal day care centre; the Liberals are counting on tradition

ing now appear to be strengthening the Tories' hold on the province. By tying the Meech Lake constitutional accord—which recognizes Quebec as a "distinct society"—the Prime Minister accommodated the aspirations of many nationalists in Quebec within the Canadian federal system. And most recently, by

signing a free trade agreement with the United States, Mulroney appeared to win support from many members of Quebec's growing—and increasingly influential—francophone business class.

But despite their attempts to appeal to a broader spectrum of Quebec society, Conser-

vative strategists continue to emphasize the anti-soviet theme in that province. The Tory slogan used in English Canada, "Managing change," is intended to emphasize a team of strong Tory candidates who will continue to promote the economic growth and prosperity of the post four years. In Quebec, that slogan is altered slightly. "Conserver dans le bon sens," which loosely means "Keep following your good instincts."

Senator Michel Cuccer, co-chairman of the Conservative campaign, says that the French-language slogan appeals more to individual emotions. Added Marcel Glin, Conservative campaign communications director in Quebec: "There were debates within the party between the English team and the French team over approaches. We did our own opinion testing in Quebec to help come up with the line, but we relied on our intuition as well." Declared Glin: "In Quebec, we are conservatism-driven, partly because it is a smaller society where situation counts."

But Mulroney is banking on more than intuition. In his free trade deal with the United States, he is—in a symbolic gesture—proposing more economic independence for Quebec. And the Meech Lake accord not only brought Quebec into the constitutional fold, it offered the province political association with the rest of Canada. For English-speaking Canadians, the campaign against free trade plays to Canadian nationalism in the same way that Quebec's "fer" for a separate state campaign of 1980



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played to Quebec nationalism. Maloney is driving the same emotional chords of pride and accomplishment in Quebec that then-Quebec Premier Robert Bourque played so often in his pre-election speeches. Maloney's speeches in defense of the free trade agreement are built on some of the same themes as the "let's campaign, where I'm going and the Parti Québécois sought a mandate for political independence from the rest of Canada while maintaining economic ties. The referendum was delayed eight years ago by 60 per cent of Quebecers.

Addressing enthusiastic supporters in a

Montréal church basement during the third week of the campaign, Maloney appealed to Quebecers' pride, while warning his opponents of mounting and attempting to accumulate them. "Quebecers are fed up with the old tactics of those who are contemptuous of our intelligence and insult our dignity," he said. "They say so to these projects of ours, these professional men, and you to the leaders of a new Quebec prosperity."

By signing himself with the powerful forces of business and nationalism, Maloney has built bridges to several Quebec political groups, leaving the federal Liberals little room to maneuver.

The Liberals are also hampered by Turner's own lack of an extensive personal network of Quebec supporters and by the fact that the Liberal leader cannot match Maloney's personal popularity in Quebec. Said Gellug's Bessoff, "Maloney makes the point that he's from Quebec, and how could they vote against him?"

To that end, the Liberals have developed a strategy based almost entirely on underestimating Maloney's business-savvy advantage. According to a high-ranking Quebec Liberal strategist, the party's advertising has been deliberately more negative in Quebec because members of representative groups reacted furiously during voting. "Whoever you surrounded people of the government's record of scandals, the Prime Minister's credibility sinking west through the floor," said the strategist, who requested anonymity. And by relying heavily on the party's historic roots in Quebec, the Liberals are trying to lure voters with a lengthy list of high-profile Quebecers to show that the party has a wealth of native sons and longtime residents of its own. He added, "We are focusing more on big name candidates, such as Paul Martin Jr. [son of former external affairs minister Paul Martin] and Raymond Gauthier [Liberal finance critic], rather than naming as the leader."

The NDP, which is fighting hard to gain support in Quebec, has campaigned on the popularity of leader Edward Broadbent. Capitalizing on his personal high standing in the opinion polls, the NDP leader has focused on social programs and community services in the province. Deliberately avoiding the free trade deal, which is popular in Quebec, the NDP has targeted the environment, tax reform and child care in its advertisements. Said Terry O'Grady, NDP communications director, "Our polling in the province shows that Quebecers have different attitudes toward defense policies, where we are looked at more sympathetically," he added. "As well, Quebec is more receptive to the issues that government should intervene in matters of social conscience."

Still, Broadbent was faced with the formidable task of showing Quebecers that he can build a strong team around his leadership in the province. Unlike the English advertisements, which focus almost entirely on Broadbent, the party was struggling to show, through its commercials, growing support for the NDP in Quebec. Said O'Grady, "It is important for us to make the point that there is a group of candidates in that province that supports Ed."

But with Quebec's tradition of voting for winners and losers, since, the NDP's statistical electoral prospects in that province appeared remote. For the other two parties, the campaign had become a test of strength between the alliances of history on the one hand and a prime minister's personal popularity on the other. And in the morning halls along the St. Lawrence North Shore, at least, Brian Mulroney seemed to have the edge.

TERESA TRESCU with BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa and LISA BARNES in Montreal

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# 'THE DEAL IS A MUST FOR CANADA'

## MULRONEY DEFENDS FREE TRADE



What would the federal Conservatives do about free trade if they fail to win a majority in next Monday's federal election? What do they think in hindsight of their free trade selling job? It is a one-hour exclusive interview with Mulroney's last Friday in his Langens Blauk after across the street from Parliament Hill. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney discussed these and other questions about the 1988 campaign.

**Macleod:** If you form the next government will you pursue the trade accord regardless of the number of seats?

**Mulroney:** Yes.

**Macleod:** Live with a majority?

**Mulroney:** The trade deal is a quest for Canada's future. It's a necessary instrument of job creation and new wealth and it is clearly something that is on the right side of history. Those who oppose it today are going to be held to the same law others in those who 25 years ago opposed the [Canada-U.S.] Auto Pact for precisely the same reasons. This is an important act of nation-building. What is slowly emerging after a persistent campaign of falsehood and lies is the truth. Basically, the truth will out—and the truth is a choice between the free trade agreement and one that is torn up and thrown away. That's the choice that Mr. Turner offers the country. Given the choices, as the days go by in this campaign, you can bet that Canadians are going to choose the positive and reject the destructive.

**Macleod:** If you have a minority government next, would you consider holding a referendum on free trade?

**Mulroney:** I am looking forward to a strong endorsement of what we have done.

**Macleod:** Was it a mistake in viewpoint not to provide a fuller explanation of the free trade agreement?

**Mulroney:** No. These things take on lives of their own. The masses of the political world are like a hanging in the morning, it tends to focus the mind. The essence of this was given priority to both sides of the proposition. What was difficult for us to forecast was the fact that the leader of Bill Mackay's Liberal Opposition would take a campaign of systematic and fundamental attacks. There is not a single thing about the free trade agreement that Mr.



Turner has said that is true. I never thought in 1988 that I would see the leader of a national party enter a senior citizens' home and vilify try to sow fear among the elderly and the sick of Canada, propagating alcohol and demonizable falsehoods. The truth is catching on. The Liberals got caught with their hands in the cookie jar. People know that they have been telling falsehood and wild falsehoods, and the tide is turning.

**Macleod:** Are you picking up any signs of such Americans in this campaign?

**Mulroney:** There is a well of anti-Americanism in Canada. There always has been. It is like anything else. You get up in the morning, and if things are going poorly, you blame it on your

neighbor. A fair number of Canadians over the years have blamed it on the Americans. Lester Pearson wrote in his memoirs that there are people in Canada who believe that Canadians are not able enough to drive effective bargains with the Americans so they exploit their weakness by manipulating their uncertainties into the natives, by plying Seltzer and 'Slurpees.' Mr. Pearson wrote that this is the sign of weakness that exists in Canada. It applies to the present leader of the Liberal party today.

**Macleod:** Why do you think so many people disagree with the agreement?

**Mulroney:** I can see the protectionists of

Canada, those who like to insist barriers, who have a narrow, blinkered view, who are well suited after it's the 19-40-40-40 school of Canadians. Those who believe in a little Canada, because within a little Canada, they are pretty big fish. By God, they are going to keep it that way, no matter what it costs everybody else.

**Macleod:** Do you have any plans to settle Canadian's fears on free trade after the election?

**Mulroney:** A lot goes around the world before the truth has a chance to get its pants on in the morning. You are asking how we are going to deal with lies, because there will be. This is hard-core, solid manipulation. Anything you build is difficult, challenging and complex.



ed, and sometimes difficult to explain. To destroy it is a very simple. Politicians have to persuade themselves about them. They appeal to the basest element in society, namely fear.

Maclean: Are you not worried about social progress? The tide has turned. Canadians now understand that they were told a selfish lie about a fundamental part of their heritage. Canadians don't expect national leaders to go out and seize citizens' houses and tell them things like this. I would then be very concerned about the morality of the person who told me this if it turned out to be false. And what you have emerging here is an enormous question of credibility. If Mr. Turner will say this about medicine and old-age pensions, he'll stop at nothing in regard to other things. It is obvious that people are catching on. He claims: "We have said they [the deal] did not go through, the economic situation is going to worsen. Why?"

Maloney: The program of the Liberals contains all the ingredients for another recession. It is not only the deal not going through, it is a maximum of \$27.7 billion of new spending, it is the loss of productivity, it is the loss of economic growth, the loss of investment, the loss of confidence in Canada, the impact on federal provincial relations, because eight provinces out of 10 would have been repudiated. I don't know how all these factors could fail to have anything other than a very damaging effect upon the mood of the nation and the manner in which Canada is perceived around the world.

Maclean: Are you not contributing to the reference of the world?

Maloney: I don't have to say anything. The markets know exactly what Mr. Turner is up to. You would have to be a child not to understand what would happen. The only way that you create new wealth is to do exactly what we have been doing. Mr. Turner has got himself vision like into the 1870s, everything that failed in the 1970s. He has come out on the legislative agenda for the 1990s, and all this is in his own reversion as an extreme left-wing Liberal. This is new for Mr. Turner. There is a profound philosophical difference between us.

Maclean: Could you have done more a year ago in head of uncertainty about free trade?

Maloney: I think we have done a good job. We anticipated a vigorous opposition. We make allowances for the hysteria of some elements of our society, the provincial elements who have misgivings, who just cannot get through the day without a good demagoguery. What very few people could have anticipated was the wilful campaign of attacks set out by the Liberals in regard to the concerns of Canadians about social progress, old-age pensions, medicare. I don't expect that anyone would do anything that successful. I don't have any doubts as to what is going to happen on Nov. 25. I think we have got a fight on our hands. Any major initiatives that you bring in to change existing patterns of living, of trade, of social patterns, any time there is a great historical initiative, the speed of reaction is

instant and centre predicting shows, and they react to the latter not. You have got to fight them off. I know that the verdict of history is going to be favorable. I know that I am doing the right thing for Canada. The only thing would have been to do nothing. The only thing was to make sure we fought hard to see if we could get the best of deal that was going to benefit Canada over the next century. We have emerged with an agreement that is the envy of the trading world. The speed of assistance and reaction are always there. It is the rate of the prime minister to provide leadership. Maclean: How do you feel the nation after the campaign?

Maloney: If you go across the country and see who is on the other side, what they are saying, you don't have to worry about anything. [Turner's] personal secretary Peter Connolly is reported to have told a group of businessmen in Ottawa last January: "Don't

completely impervious to reasonable persuasion. What you have to do is make the case for the country. It is extremely difficult to persuade large groups of people in advance of an accomplishment. When it is done, everybody is behind it."

Maclean: Free trade has become part of your personal vision of Canada. How do you react to the attacks on it?

Maloney: I think it is pretty goofy stuff. When [Turner] was in the private sector he was going around saying: "This is the greatest thing since bottled beer." I don't think he believes a single thing that he says. The only place that John Turner is interested in protecting in Canada is his own: All of a sudden, out of a clear blue sky, he repudiates everything that he stood for. I just watch it and I do my thing.

Maclean: "Our companies are here as safe one. How do I defend your trade for jobs?"

Maloney: Not at all. I am not concerned about a bunch of godfathers who show up at political meetings. That is the price you pay in a democracy. Nothing that the Liberals do ever surprises me. This is a party entirely bereft of principle and conscience. I have never underestimated it. Its techniques have been successful for it in the past. The Liberals tried it again; they went into social citizens' houses. They are going to pay the price of their lies for what they have done. This year, Canadians are going to vote as voters provide. This was an act completely contrary of anyone who seeks high office in Canada.

Maclean: What is president-elect George Bush's approach to the agreement?

Maloney: George Bush came up to see me twice over at 24 Sussex (the late Prime Minister's residence). This is what we talked about. The second time, he brought [secretary of state nominee] Jim Baker with him—he knows the agreement inside out. He knows the impact on Canada and the United States. I met with him privately before the Toronto summit at his house in Washington at his invitation, where we went through all of it again. Jim Baker negotiated it personally. That's how deeply Baker and Bush care about this agreement. I spoke to Bush the other night (Nov. 8, after Bush won the presidential election), and he said: "Brian, Jimmy Baker is asking right here, right next to me. You're going to be pleased about what I am going to say tomorrow about him." What he said tomorrow is that the new secretary of state for the United States of America is the guy who negotiated the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States. So Bush knows all about it; he is a very strong defender of free trade. And Jim Baker is going to be the secretary of state. Because of that, if a Canadian government were to scrap the accord, it would create one of the most unbridled and preposterous situations for a Canadian prime minister ever to find himself in: to destroy a sovereign treaty and then to turn around and say: "By the way, I have thrown this one in the wastepaper basket. I want you to sit down and negotiate another one with me." You know the answer to that one. Everybody knows the answer to that one. □



believe it, we're really in danger of this thing. We are trying to get a few cosmetic changes in it and then declare a victory and sign the deal." The word on the street is widespread. For the Liberals to campaign against the free trade agreement and then sign the agreement would be an act of unconscionable hypocrisy. The Liberals have no policy, no program, the worst state of candidates that the party has failed in 100 years. They have a leader that, four weeks ago, the caucus was trying to throw out. They have a record of raising their own party \$6 million in debt. Don't think for a second that they are capable of doing a fraudulent scandal, even more fraudulent than this in the past. But their systematic efforts are so impressive as the clarity of their principles.

Maclean: What do you say to reassure those who are anti-American?

Maloney: I don't think that I should be seeking to reassure every individual because I know that there are some people who are

# Straight Talk On Free Trade.



# The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

**What is it.** The Free-Trade Agreement is a commercial arrangement that begins and ends with trade. It is about tariffs and other barriers at the border. It is about increasing trade and job opportunities. Most important of all, it is about fair rules in the trade game with our largest trading partner.

It does not affect our sovereignty. It does not harm our social programs. It does not menace our health care programs. It does not undermine our culture. It does not threaten our environment, our fresh water, our energy resources or our farmers. Any claim to the contrary are false. They are not based on the facts of the agreement. They are based on fear.

Most of all, it is not a sell-out. It is an opportunity. Canada is not and will not become a colony of the United States. Canada is and will remain a free, vibrant and independent nation.

**So who needs it, anyway?** We do. Canada is a nation that was built on trade. More than 3 million jobs depend on trade. Two out of every three of those jobs rely on trade with the United States. We need more open and secure access to a large market. We are the only industrialized country that does not have such access. The United States market is the richest and most dynamic market in the world. And it is Canada's most important market. Without the FTA, that market is neither free nor secure, and our future will be uncertain.

**But three-quarters of our trade is already free of tariffs.** Yes and no. While many of our products enter duty-free, many more are not sold at all because of high tariffs. Thousands of products continue to attract tariffs. And it is hard to compete when you have to pay high tariffs—such as the 18% tariff on petrochemicals, or the 33% tariff on woven fabrics. It is mostly raw materials that are free while finished goods continue to draw tariffs. Getting rid of these tariffs means more opportunities to sell manufactured goods and more such opportunities mean more and better jobs.

**Did we get rid of tariffs?** Yes we did, but seriously. They will be phased out over ten years allowing producers the time to adjust and take advantage of new opportunities.

**Is there more?** Certainly. Barriers to trade are more than a matter of tariffs. They also involve discriminatory product standards, quotas, local content requirements and much, much more.

**Did we eliminate these?** Most of them. For others, we will continue to negotiate. Where we could not get rid of barriers, we put in place sensible rules that place Canadian and American producers on an equal footing.

**Who will enforce these rules?** We will. Canadians will enforce them in Canada and Americans will enforce them in the United States.

**What if there is disagreement?** The agreement puts in place procedures that will allow Canadians and Americans to work out any differences quickly and amicably or allow a neutral panel to make a final ruling.

**But the United States is ten times more powerful than Canada. Won't they always get their way?** That's why we need mutually agreed and mutually enforced rules. That's why we need a neutral referee to act as a shield against arbitrary and capricious actions. The rules will affect us and they will affect the Americans. Equally.

**But doesn't the agreement deal with more than just trade in goods?** Yes it does. It also puts in place sensible rules to cover trade in services, investment and business travel. Canadian investors in the United States will be dealt with fairly and equitably. Canadian engineers and architects will now be able to sell their services in the United States.

**But no other trade agreement has ever done this.** That is right. Canada and the United States have made a headstart on what the rest of the world is trying to do at the Uruguay Round of GATT talks. But they have done so cautiously. They have agreed not to discriminate in the future. All existing laws and regulations remain in place.

**But didn't we also give up the right to control foreign investment?** No. We agreed that after a period of transition, we will not screen direct foreign investment takeovers under \$150 million. That means that three-quarters of Canada's corporate assets remain subject to screening. And all our other laws remain in place.

**Does the FTA not prevent us from ensuring Canadian control of the economy?** Not at all. Canada remains free to establish its own standards of conduct. There is nothing in the FTA to prevent the Government from regulating, for example, that all companies incorporated in Canada have a minimum number of Canadian directors on their board, maintain their head office in Canada or that their chief operating officer be a Canadian citizen. In three sensitive sectors—energy, air and rail transportation, and culture—it can continue to require Canadian majority control. Existing energy and transportation policies are protected and culture is exempted.

**Will the FTA lead to the buy-out of Canada by Americans?** No, exactly the opposite. One of the indirect benefits of the agreement is that it gives Canadians the confidence they need to invest in their own economy. A quarter of Canadians now own stock in Canadian companies and Canadians have a greater stake in their economy than they have ever had before. Such confidence comes with a strong economy, not with government regulation.

**But be realistic. Doesn't the agreement amount to a sell-out of Canada? Won't all important decisions be made in Washington from now on?** Only the timid and the fearful have this view of Canada and of their governments. There will continue to be a democratically elected Parliament in Canada and democratically elected legislatures in the ten provinces and in the territories. They remain free to enact any policy they desire, even policies at odds with the FTA.

**But won't the Americans retaliate?** That risk is not new. A country that depends on trade for 30 percent of its wealth always has to be conscious of its trading partners. The FTA, however, greatly enhances our ability to protect Canadian interests. Rather than going to Washington to hand and pleading a special relationship, we can rely on a set of jointly agreed rules, joint management of those rules, and a dispute settlement mechanism to resolve any differences. That is sovereignty. That is in Canada's interest.

**Yes, but all the obligations are on us. No.** The Government of Canada and the agreement applies equally to Canada and to the United States.

**But won't the agreement gradually force us to align our policies along the lines of the larger and stronger partner?** Most Canadian business leaders, by making speaking an social and other programs? Not at all. Why should this particular agreement have such an effect? We have more than 200 agreements and arrangements with the United States. None have had that effect. This is not the beginning of a process, but an important step in an economic relationship older than Confederation. We have always traded with the Americans; we have always welcomed their responsible investors; we have always travelled back and forth—and we will continue to do this. This clear and mutually beneficial relationship has not prevented Canada from opting for a different approach to social welfare, to broadcasting, to transportation, to support for farmers and the FTA will not either. On the contrary, it will help to generate the wealth that will allow us to continue to develop a rich, rewarding and diversified society. We are used to living next-door to a superpower and making the best of it—that's why the rest of the world envies what we have been able to achieve in the FTA. Having us at the cutting edge of the marriage market of international trade relations.

**Why can't we just keep things the way they are?** Unfortunately it's not just up to us. There are a lot of Americans who are unhappy with unfair competition from the Japanese, from the Brazilians and from others. They are bashing out at foreign trade. Canadians are getting hurt in the process. Some congressmen want to take protectionist actions against Canada.

**Give me one concrete example.** The auto pact, which has been the primary engine of growth in Ontario, is preserved under the free trade agreement. This despite the fact that it has become an important target of legislators and the United Auto Workers in the U.S. The efficiency of our workers and plants is attracting more and more investment by the auto makers here, way above what the pact says they have lost. According to a recent Globe & Mail editorial, Ontario will soon be assembling 30% of all cars built and sold in North America. Naturally there are those in the U.S. who would like to renegotiate the auto pact and bring home a lot of those jobs.

**Is the auto pact more secure with the free trade agreement?** Yes. The agreement solves some outstanding irritants in the automotive sector. And the future of the auto pact is tied to the FTA. Would renegotiation of the auto pact stand up to this pressure by itself without the agreement? We chance. As the Globe & Mail states, supporters of the auto pact should also support the free trade agreement.

**There's a whole world of other trading partners out there. Yes.** But they are also banding together to form big trading blocks. The Europeans have been at it for some time. They've been knocking down the tariffs and other barriers between themselves, making it harder for outsiders to sell there. The Pacific Rim countries are becoming increasingly competitive. The interest in trading and investing in a single, rather small country with a variety of trade barriers is ever-diminishing. But a market of over 260 million (that's us and the U.S.) is one very attractive investment and trading partner for anyone in the world.

Clear trading rules and access to our largest trading partner will encourage employers to invest in Canada with confidence and create new jobs. As a full partner in one of the richest, largest markets in the world, Canada's role is assured as a major participant in the next century of global trade.

**So the stakes go on to open. There must be another alternative out there.** Well there's the much touted "sectoral approach" which trades each industry area on a one by one basis. It sounds good in principle. An agreement here for forestry, one there for fisheries and another for steel and so on. The problem arises when you attempt to put it into practice. It didn't work when we tried it the last time (1983-84). And we are now facing an even more precarious America.

If we were to tell the United States we wish to scrap this agreement [after months of negotiations and approvals from both their Senate and House of Representatives] in order to start talking about a long series of smaller agreements on a sectoral basis, our chance of coming out with a whole batch of separate agreements is just about zero.



## 'A BAD DEAL FOR CANADA'

## TURNER SPELLS OUT HIS CONCERNS



It is a remarkable turnaround, Liberal Leader John Turner has climbed back from a slump in the opinion polls and has formed the current campaign into a passionate national debate on free trade. Last night after a blizzard-ravaged western Ontario, Turner took a break from campaigning and, in an exclusive interview with Maclean's in Saskatchewan, he spoke at length about his intention to be the male dove.

**Maclean's** Recent polls show that Canadians are almost evenly divided on the merits of free trade. If you were a majority, how will you settle the question?

**Tanner:** The Mulroney trade deal would radically change the direction of our country. It yields the economic levers of sovereignty: our energy, our investment policy, our capital markets, supply-management of agriculture. The contemplated negotiations has a common definition of virtually inalienable our social objectives.

and our regional equity programs. Yes, the issue divides the country, although more and more Canadians are coming to accept my view that this is more than an economic debate, it is a debate on the future of Canada. Once elected, I would do my best to reach out to Canadians and unify the country.

**Magness:** How can you measure the direct and innovative business communities?

**Turner:** I've said to business friends that this is a bad contract for Canada. If way of this has returned me for a lawyer and I had come back with that contract, they would have said no. I have also said to the business community of Canada that the business of business is money, not that's legitimate, but the business of public life is people, and this is more than an economic deal. We would pursue the style of negotiating with the United States that has always been successful for Canada. We would negotiate under international auspices, under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Using that strategy, 99 per cent of everything that crosses the border now goes free of card. And we have accomplished that without

problem, apparently by reviving the political anxiety that we would give away under the table deal. More than that, I would say to the business community that the prime purpose of the Midway deal was to achieve *Clear Access* into the American market. That means achieving an exemption from *any* American protectionist trade law. This was not achieved—and we needed our ability to appeal to the GATT and challenge American law. So the business community has not gained anything and will not lose anything when the deal is not ratified. *Nackiewicz's* *N* decided, would you attempt to negotiate a new deal with the United States and would you create any part of the existing accord?

**Turner:** Well, the deal is a trade-for-trade deal—that is what the Prime Minister said. But since the sole purpose of a bilateral deal is opposed to an international deal, was not to achieve an exemption from American trade law, and since we did not get it and will not necessarily get it because the Congress was not ready to do it, the deal is not a trade-for-trade deal. The real question of the deal as such is not feasible. What we would do is to resume discussions with the United States to enlarge the perimeter of the GATT into services, monetary, the dispute-resolution system, and so on. Of course, we will continue to discuss our trade problems and trade future with the Americans—that is essential—but the basis of the deal must—must be the basis of the American market. If the American market is not achieved, so that it is not negotiable.

**Maclean's:** In light of president-elect George Bush's victory and the recent appointment as secretary of state of James Baker—who was instrumental in negotiating the free trade agreement—how do you think the Americans would respond to any overtures for a new trade deal after you have completed the current proposal?

**Tanner:** Is it still depends on ratification by the Canadian people. President-elect Bush has just undergone a strenuous election and he understands the democratic process. I would say to the new president that his predecessor outperformed any predecessor. Now put the deal to Canadians—or, to use U.S. business terms, we put the deal to the shareholders—and Canadians turned it down. Understanding the democratic process as an American does, I am sure that he will understand that we now have to work out something different. *Maclean's:* Do you think the Americans will be revisited?

Tarnoff: I am saying that the Americans are realists, they are pragmatists. They are not only our largest customer, we are their largest customer. We are also allies in defense and we

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# FOR THOSE WHO WOULD RATHER OWN A FINE AUTOMOBILE THAN BE OWNED BY ONE.

You're looking at the all new Volvo 740 GL. Like all Volvos, it has as standard equipment our legendary reputation for safety, dependability and rock-like durability. It also has the distinction of being the most affordable of the Volvo 700 series which means unlike some people you know, you can do more than drive a very fine automobile—you can actually own one.

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will continue to be a strong ally. We have our atmosphere to cheer up together, we have to continue to cheer up our sisters and manage our international rivers and lakes, and we have a number of areas around the world where we are very close to the Americas now. So it is in the interest of the United States, so it is in the interest of Canada, to maintain positive relations in the future.

**Maclean's:** After election produces a Conservative minority government, would you form a coalition with the NDP?

**Turner:** We would not contemplate a coalition with the NDP.

**Maclean's:** Under any circumstances?

**Turner:** No.

**Maclean's:** What would happen if the Tories won a majority but had less than 50 per cent of the popular vote? Would you argue that they did not have a mandate for free trade?

**Turner:** No, I believe it is responsible government.

**Maclean's:** Would you use the Senate again to hold up the agreement until a referendum was held on the issue?

**Turner:** No, this election is a referendum on the trade deal.

**Maclean's:** Would you live with the fact of the Canadians people support it?

**Turner:** I always accept the judgment of the Canadian people.

**Maclean's:** A few years ago you expressed regret for a free trade deal between Canada and the United States. Do you oppose that completely or did you change your mind?

**Turner:** No, I have always believed in free trade, but unfortunately I have always believed that Canada would be ill-advised to get into free-trade negotiations with a country 10 times stronger than we are, with 100 times more people and with 10 times the market.

In order to guarantee that market under a bilateral arrangement, Canada would have to give 10 times the concessions—and that is what Mr. Mulroney did. I would continue to cooperate with the Americans but in a way that would not put our sovereignty at risk.

**Maclean's:** As J.B. Brown Mulroney said that he opposed free trade with the United States. What do you think changed his mind?

**Turner:** I cannot speculate. I am not his personal confidant, and he has never given Canadians an answer.

**Maclean's:** Do you believe that Canada can survive economically without a free trade deal with a major trading bloc?

**Turner:** I think that Canada would be ill-advised to become a junior partner in Fortress America. It has always been in Canada's interest to seek a widening trading perspective globally. A series of protectionist blocs around the world is never in Canada's interest.

**Maclean's:** The Conservatives have accused you of endorsing in secret letters by writing that free trade would jeopardize social programs. How do you respond to that?

**Turner:** It is quite clear that the objective of the United States in these free-trade seven-year negotiations is to wipe out any social advantages, whether in fiscal programs, grants or

subsidies, that gives a Canadian enterprise an advantage over an American enterprise. Their definition of a subsidizing or unfair trading practices were based on the 1930 statute of the United States, the 1974 trade act and the similar trade bill passed by the President. They are wide enough to cover an immense variety of economic development programs and essentially the public social programs that give Canadian businesses an unfair advantage in their own.

**Maclean's:** Has he indicated that you want to see the books before explaining how you will pay for your election promises. But the Prime Minister says that the books are all paid for.

**Turner:** Mr. Mulroney did not give any indication of his budgetary plans in 1984, one with I would say the books. This has been in 1984, have you our programs. You will have a total before the election, and I will give you comparisons of that total with the programs of the

previous governments.

**Maclean's:** How do you feel about President Reagan's announced plan to deliver a speech in front of the House of Representatives?

**Turner:** It would surprise me if a president of the United States would intervene in a Canadian federal election.

**Maclean's:** How did all the bad publicity that surrounded your campaign before the television debate affect you? Did you ever feel tempted to throw in the towel?

**Turner:** I felt that if I could persuade Canadians to concentrate on the merits, then I would have an opportunity of winning this election.

For the first time in four years, I had an opportunity to talk to millions of Canadians in French and English about how I felt about our country, how I felt about the free trade deal and how I felt about the growing gap between rich and poor under the Mulroney administration. I was able to do this without any intermediary without any interpreter, and I am satisfied that I was given a good listening by Canadians.

**Maclean's:** It is that when things began to turn around for you?

**Turner:** I think that when Canadians understood what I was saying, when they heard it from an directly, our fortunes started to improve.

**Maclean's:** Premier Minister Michael Wilson has said that your campaign promises would cost \$37.7 billion. Is that the Tories' commitments would cost nothing because they were made before the campaign. How do you respond to that?

**Turner:** No. Wilson calls Tories promises "spending commitments" and calls Liberal promises "election promises." He qualifies his party's election commitments as dollar zero and he has a horrendously optimistic figure for ours. That is the way I view it. I will have much more to say. We will produce our own figures as we use them to compare with the Tories and NDP figures.

**Maclean's:** Has this campaign been particularly negative compared with others?

**Turner:** I do not particularly like being called a liar, as seems to me that Mr. Mulroney has been misled by his American friends.

**Maclean's:** In what way?

**Turner:** Negative campaigning.

**Maclean's:** What kind of an offer will that be for Canadians?

**Turner:** I think Canadians would react against negative campaigning. They have confidence in Canadians. Also, I have no overriding theme: free election—the future of our country. The American election had no theme at all.

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French-language rights outside Quebec, particularly in Alberta and Ontario? What about the lack of protection for English-speaking Quebecers under Michel Lacombe's "diverted assets" clause?

**Turner:** We believe that the spirit of Mount Lake and the charter of rights in the Constitution Act of 1982 both protect minority rights outside of Quebec, and inside Quebec, on the request from Quebec.

**Maclean's:** I would not request March 17. I would make every effort to have a ratified. Then we would have our own ongoing constitutional process.

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# 'OUR CHALLENGE BEFORE NOV. 21'

## BROADBENT WANTS A RETURN TO ISSUES



For New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent, the Nov. 21 election will mark the end of his fourth campaign as party leader. But although the next legislative session will begin in January—and with a second place standing in public opinion polls—he had dropped to a distant third by last week, as the Liberals and Conservatives fought each other over the U.S.-Canada free trade agreement. Still, in an exclusive interview with Maclean's in Toronto last week, Broadbent remained optimistic that the next elections would happen in the final week of the campaign.

**Maclean's:** The Prime Minister has said that he could reintroduce free trade legislation even if he won a minority government. What would your party do if you held the balance of power?

**Broadbent:** We would not support such legislation in any way—introduced by anyone. We could not work anything—considering what we have said about this deal from the time it was announced, up to the last days of the election. In every section of our party, in every province, there has been total opposition to this deal.

**Maclean's:** Would you give another election over the issue?

**Broadbent:** I see it the other way around. Anyone knowing our position on this issue would be looking on election by reintroducing free trade legislation.

**Maclean's:** What about holding a referendum on free trade?

**Broadbent:** First, I want to make it clear that I am not making the assumption that

there is going to be a majority government—who knows what the outcome will be! But on the question of a referendum, there are a number of arguments against it. Traditionally, all parties in Canada have accepted—mostly, I think—that, given the regional nature of Canada, referendums are dangerous things from the point of view of national unity. I am happy to say that a majority of Canadians in all regions are now against the deal, but after a referen-

dum campaign, it could flip back. You could end up dividing the nation on a regional basis over a fundamental issue. I think it would be very risky. There is another argument. This kind of deal is so complicated, so immense in its complexity, that the political parties have an obligation to think through the deal and present options to the voters. That is our job.

**Maclean's:** But hasn't this election already turned into a referendum on free trade—is the criticism of all other issues?

**Broadbent:** To a fair extent, that has happened. Part of our challenge between now and election day is to get other items back on the agenda: tax reform, the environment, child care, things that are hot issues in the agenda and were publicly discussed in the first three weeks [before the televised leaders' debates]. We were doing very well when the people of Canada were thinking in a multifaceted way, not just about free trade and the independence of Canada, but about what kind of Canada they want. As long as those items were not there, we were doing well as a party. It has tended to be, from the debates on, a single-issue campaign for many Canadians.

**Maclean's:** How you envisioned by that change in the campaign?

**Broadbent:** I won't use a word like victimized, but we have done less well when the discussion has concentrated on the trade deal. But I have been saying in speeches after speeches that there are two questions: independence for Canada, but then what kind of Canada we want. As a social democrat, I would try to change the government's agenda—to focus on the corporate tax system, regional development and a whole range of issues. That remains our challenge before the election.

**Maclean's:** Is there any thing about the free trade deal that you like?

**Broadbent:** The dispute settlement mechanism makes sense for both countries. Steven Leveson, our trade critic, was the first politician to talk publicly about such an approach—about trying to develop some new institutional relationships that would lead off these disputes before they get mixed in with national issues. That makes a lot of sense.

**Maclean's:** Could the deal be amended in order to resolve what you find unacceptable in it? The West Coast futility, for one, is protected

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by the Canada-U.S. trade agreement. **Broadbent:** That protectionist measure seems only in the context of certain trade-offs that both sides saw in elements of the package. But the deal is essentially unimpeachable because it is too comprehensive. If you had a deal with two or three elements only, you could say, 'I don't like Clause 3, but I like 4, 5, and 6, so let's talk about Clause 3.' But that touches everything, from performance requirements on foreign investment, to energy pricing in medicine and other social programs.

**Maclean's:** How could an *intergovernmental* deal with Canada-U.S. trade issues? **Broadbent:** We would rebuild the trading relationship with the Americans, starting from where we left off when negotiations for the trade agreement began. That would include negotiation of something like a dispute settlement mechanism, and carrying out tariff reductions that would be good for both nations. Third, where there are possibilities for bilateral agreements that would be mutually advantageous, we would do that. I am not talking about a single new document but an ongoing relationship, almost as if the last two or three years hadn't existed. We would reach other business trading partners, but there were problems. By and large they were taking more cracks at us than we were taking at them, but we took some cracks at them too. So a dispute settlement mechanism of some kind would be desirable. And, by the way, I would never encourage, as Mulroney talked about at one time, either of us giving up complete sovereignty in that area. That's illusory.

**Maclean's:** If you formed a government, you would be presiding over a country in which almost if the people wanted a deal that you are determined to strike, you will. What would you give them in exchange?

**Broadbent:** What we would have to make clear is that, while we are critical of this deal, we are not critical of the American people. A Canadian business often said Canadians like Americans but they hate American institutions. There is a lot to this. Personally, I like Americans. But in a political context, it's easy for the Conservative government to portray the NDP as anti-American. After an election we would have to defend that balance, to get that message out of the way.

**Maclean's:** How would the NDP handle relations with the new U.S. administration?

**Broadbent:** I saw George Bush when he was here as vice-president—he visited me and my wife, Lucille, to visit him in Kananaskis—so there is a personal contact. I believe there is a more decent guy than his terribly right-wing campaign would indicate. His attitude as well as, for instance, a lot more advanced than President Reagan's. There are obstacles he wants to do something about and tries, and so do we. We have an interest in a dispute settlement and so do they.

**Maclean's:** Why are you not reassured by the (trade agreement's) 20-month consultation clause?

**Broadbent:** That is like saying that the right to a divorce ought to be reassuring when you

enter into a marriage. That is not exactly a healthy foundation for a marriage. **Maclean's:** You have said that the trade agreement threatens Canada's social programs. What government is in a right mind would dismantle anything?

**Broadbent:** There are specific clauses that permit limiting in certain U.S. style management services in the hospital sector, a provision so decide. But, for me, it goes beyond that to the problem of harmonization of standards. The Quebec Business Council, the president of the Ford Motor Co. of Canada and a number of other business people have said that what this deal means, in effect, is that we cannot continue with the same high level of social services. A higher level of social services means, for them, higher taxes. The business community has always used their arguments the time medicine was first introduced. They have always said that we can't afford it.

**"We were doing very well when the people of Canada were thinking not just about free trade, but also about what kind of Canada they want"**

and they believe that—they deeply believe that to remain competitive, we can't afford it. By living this deal, you compound these arguments. They would have a whole new argument to go to their governments with and say, 'Sorry, we need cutbacks in these social programs, and you certainly cannot expect them.' That means, for me, that medicine and pensions are threatened.

More important, there is a clause in the deal that could have stopped us from leaving medicine as I say a better government would be to bring into government our demands program: there is a requirement in the agreement of compensation for American insurance businesses already in the field. If we take away their business by bringing in a state monopoly, they can demand compensation. When medicine was introduced, there were debates of dollars of private insurance tied up in the government and there was no compensation—the government just moved in and did it. But with

this deal, we would have to compensate by U.S. companies. I understand their interest, but I'm opposed to it.

**Maclean's:** But couldn't private insurance actually save the government money? In the United States many employers pay for their employees' health insurance.

**Broadbent:** That is a bogus argument. Where they have it, it's because there have been strong unions pushing for it.

**Maclean's:** Social democrats in Europe have no problem with international trade agreements. Why do you?

**Broadbent:** For one thing, most of them have very stringent foreign ownership performance requirements. The Swedish minister of international trade told me that she was astounded by the provisions in our trade agreement about energy, and on the absence of performance criteria on foreign companies coming into Canada. As well, the European Community countries' social programs by and large complement each other. They are ahead of us on some ways and they are retarded on others of the United States. They don't have to harmonize with a country that I regard as socially backward. Brian Stewart, Edward Kennedy says that Americans are not leaders on this continent in social programs, the Canadians are. But he is a voice in the wilderness right now in American society.

**Maclean's:** In order to deliver the trade deal, would you encourage your supporters to vote Liberal when Liberal candidates stand in a later election?

**Broadbent:** Absolutely not. I don't know where John Turner will ultimately go on this deal. I was astounded by Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's comment a few days ago about Turner. He said that politicians are known to say one thing before an election and another thing after.

**Maclean's:** Are you saying that Turner is being about his opposition to the trade agreement?

**Broadbent:** It is his right to say directly. I leave it up to other people to decide. We pointed out his record and to me a frustration that Turner is one of the most conservative men to enter Canadian politics. I leave it to the Canadians to decide who is the real John Turner: the politician that stands up for the common who, when he had power as minister of finance or speaking as a Bay Street lawyer, supported Brian, Prime Minister Mulroney, Thatcher and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. There is a possibility that he has had a conversion, so I am not going to say that John Turner is lying. But if I wanted to get rid of the trade deal, I would not vote for him.

**Maclean's:** Year after year, New Democrats go into campaign high-spirited and full of plans. But there seems to be a ceiling on how well you can do. What is the problem?

**Broadbent:** We have to get into the calling. A few weeks ago, the polls showed an entirely different set of circumstances. Polls can change between now and voting day. And having a set of goals from my mother. I remain optimistic that they will. □

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# THE TERMS OF THE DEAL

THE TRADE ACCORD, POINT BY POINT



The Nov. 21 federal election has in effect become a referendum on the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. Signed on Jan. 2 by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan, the accord has been passed by the U.S. Congress. A bill implementing free trade also passed the House of Commons. But that bill died when Mulroney called an election, and a new government would have to reintroduce legislation.

## CONTENTS

FT2 Introduction	FT10 Energy	FT17 Investment
FT4 History	FT11 Automotive Goods	FT18 Financial Services
FT6 Rules Of Origin	FT13 Emergency Action	FT19 Institutional Rules
FT7 Tariffs/National Treatment	FT13 Exceptions To Trade	FT20 Dispute Settlement
FT8 Technical Standards	FT14 Federal Purchases	FT21 Other Provisions
FT8 Agriculture	FT15 Services	FT21 Water
FT9 Wine And Liquor	FT16 Temporary Entry	FT22 Gut Issues

# THE PASSION OF TWO NATIONS



Par is an agreement that is causing as much anxiety, the possibility of the free trade accord enters weary waters. In shortening "the nation's military spending" levels, as Canada and the United States, to "generate full employment," and to "contribute to the harmonious development and expansion of world trade." But seriously there is, as there has been whenever free trade has reared its head along the 49th parallel. The issue has roused nationalist cries, fueled counterarguments about economic progress and deflated governments (page 174). On Nov. 21, Canadians will discover how the issue has influenced the outcome of this federal election.

There is no absence of content to generate arguments. In 1,407 pages of clauses and tariff schedules, the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement defines a new era in Canada's relationship with its neighbor. If it is implemented by a new government—and that still appears to hang in the balance in the final weeks of the campaign—the agreement would lead to the elimination of all remaining tariffs on goods crossing the border over the next decade. It would establish a new forum for settling disputes between the two governments—the boardroom, rather than the courtroom.

The agreement would not go as far as proponents originally wanted in opening up government contracts to one nation to suppliers from the other. As well, the two parties fell short of producing a code of conduct on the use of government subsidies and

other so-called "non-tariff" barriers. The real heat, however, is generated by the concept of "national treatment" and by the agreement to apply the same rules in both countries—in a "non-subsidized" trade—de-commerce in a wide range of sensitive sectors: agriculture, automobiles, energy, financial and service.

The trade agreement has to be read in conjunction with several other documents that it incorporates or modifies, especially the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) established in 1948, attempts to liberalize trade among 96 member countries, including Canada and the United States.

The terms of the complicated deal are described starting on page 116. Organized by Business Editor Tom Frowell, the accounts of the various chapters were written by a special *Maclean's* team: Senior Writers D'Arcy Jenish, John DeMont and Mary Jennings, Associate Editor Patricia Chisholm, Assistant Editor John Daly, and Researcher-Reporter Brian Herbert.

Their report begins with a description of Chapter 3 of the agreement. Chapter 3 sets out the general objectives of a proposed new "free trade area" to "eliminate barriers to trade in goods and services", to foster "fair competition", to "liberalize" the rules for investment, to establish procedures for making the agreement work, and to "by the foundation" for further co-operation. Chapter 2 contains definitions of terms that, given the convoluted language of the agreement, are better left to experts and tribunals.

ROBERT LEWIS



# PAINFUL HISTORY LESSON

## FREE TRADE PROVOKES CLASHES ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL



It was a nervous inquiry from a pale-struck woman, 84, 44 years old, who is the sister of a prominent businessman in downtown Ottawa, who called Paul Curley, the former federal Conservative party's national director, and asked him to call her son. Paul had just been asked to discuss the Canada-U.S. free trade deal. Would it destroy socialism, she asked. Would it destroy the federal old-age pension? Paul Curley, the former federal Conservative party's national director, suddenly replied that her person was safe, that her medical benefits were secure. But, like many rural Conservatives, he has now experienced the euphoria that the issue of free trade can evoke across the nation. "The Liberals and the New Democrats have distorted reality," he angrily told *Maclean's*. "Free trade has become the issue—and the opposition parties' last hope to scare people."

For the Conservatives, the 1988 election campaign has become a painful lesson in Canadian history. Time after time, since 1854, Canadian governments or their original British colonial masters have reached out tentatively to the United States for a semi-industrial agreement. Time after time, these approaches have resulted in passionate arguments against the agreements, scattering prospective deals in 1847 and 1948. For this reason, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan agreed to "pave the highest of highways" to the elimination of trade barriers in March, 1988, the Conservatives treated free trade as a single economic issue. anxious to avoid issues, determined to soothe Canadian nationalists, they did not discuss the specific effects of the agreement on Canadian sovereignty.

In the final weeks of the election, perhaps inevitably, the issue has moved from reason to passion, from economics to nationalism. Indeed, the free-trade arguments have dominated the Canadian election campaign (page 122).

Mulroney divided with Liberal leader John Turner and top leader Edward Broadbent over free trade at the televised debate, the Conservatives have slipped to second place in their own polls—and went into the final week fighting to retain a minority government.

Last week, however, they strategized quietly behind their election to develop the specifics of the deal—outlined in the following 16 pages—after the agreement was reached on Oct. 4, 1987. In an attempt to stem the slide party strategists also attempted to draw the focus of the campaign into another issue: the credibility of Liberal leader John Turner and



his crucial colleagues. And since Conservative leader Mulroney, "if the focus stays upon free trade, it will be pretty tough for the Tories."

In contrast, the opposition parties were equally determined to keep public attention squarely on the free trade deal. Throughout last week, in virtually every speech, Turner cited controversial passages in the agreement. Then, in scathing attacks, he accused his opponents that Canada-U.S. relations would remain stable if the deal were cancelled. But he had to fend off growing demands from opponents to spell out the cost of his campaign promises in an effort to keep the focus on trade. Said the Liberal's chief financial officer, Michael Rob-

son, "Unless the issue changes, it looks well for John Turner and the Liberal party."

For their part, some New Democratic Party planners admitted that many voters now view the Liberals as the leading opponents of the free trade deal—largely because the NDP did not fight the agreement from the outset at the campaign. To counter fading momentum and to gain the support of voters opposed to free trade, Broadbent vehemently attacked Turner as a silent conservative, a leader who would not defend average Canadians' interests against U.S. and Canadian corporate interests. As Laura Rossell, the vice-president of Global Canada Inc., told *Maclean's*: "The NDP is gen-

erally forgotten. It has become a badge of the status Mr. Free Trade versus Mr. Anti-Free Trade. And everybody knows who those two are."

With its clear divisions and its fiery rhetoric, the trade debate of 1988 reflects the soul-searching emotion that has, in part, caused the vision of generations of Canadians. The first Canada-U.S. agreement, the Reciprocity Treaty, was signed in 1854 to ensure free trade in agricultural products, including fish and farm products. Twelve years later, the United States

Laurel, again returned to the free trade theme and he signed an agreement for lower tariffs. He was usually defeated in the ensuing election. Almost 40 years later in 1948, Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King concluded a draft agreement with the United States but cancelled it, fearing charges that he was too soft on British colonialism.

His subsequent government dared to reach out as freely to the United States until the Conservative victory in 1959. Determined to forge closer relations, Mulroney told the free-

Trade strategists carefully researched on the economic benefits of the agreement, citing general statistics that promised prosperity that those statistics failed when Turner and Broadbent opposed Mulroney with emotional rhetoric and detailed questions during the televised debates.

Last week, Conservative strategists told Mulroney that their well-rehearsed reply had been a mistake. Perhaps they should have called an endorsement on free trade before the election, they said. Or Ottawa could have admitted that there were problems with the agreement—and then have undertaken to solve them. Said a senior strategist: "There is an argument, for example, that we should have brought in adjustment policies to help workers who will lose their jobs with free trade. But it was too late to act when cabinet ministers considered these issues during the election."

Free trade, in turn, has been a major bone of contention between the two parties. As to the Liberals, Prime to the televised debate, Liberal polls showed that Canadians simply did not believe Turner was competent. Still, there was growing unease about free trade: a Gallup poll released on Oct. 25, hours before the English-language debate, showed that 43 per cent of Canadians opposed the deal while 54 per cent favored it. Liberal strategists told Mulroney that when Turner performed well in the debates, he provided an outlet for that fear. Said Mulroney: "Usually television debates are focused upon personality. What made this debate for us was that John Turner's support became more diverse, indeed to free trade."

The debate was a setback for the NDP. Mulroney's loss meant that the party would gain few voters with its anti-free-trade platform. The reason, critics argued, was that free trade as an economic and managerial issue—and they did not have high regard for the party's capacity to manage the economy.

As a result, Broadbent emphasized other issues, such as the environment, throughout the final weeks of the campaign. Even after the debate focused attention on free trade, Broadbent stubbornly stuck to his own agenda throughout the following seven days, he spoke about old-age pensions, insurance corporate taxes and health care. On Nov. 1, at an evening rally in Ottawa, 18 NDP strategists crowded to attack free trade as the leading cause of corporate Canada—and to distance Mulroney and Turner as the spokesmen for the corporate establishment. Still, Broadbent admitted he did not use his strategists' tough arguments. "I was in a discouraged frame of mind. Now all that we can hope for is to pull a few voters who dragged away to the Liberals back to us with a strong attack on Turner."

Canadian history has repeated itself. Once again, free trade has dominated an election. Once again, it has caused a controversy. And once again, Canada's politicians have learned that history is always a guide to the present.

NARY HANSON



provisions be phased out by Jan. 1, 1995.

The agreement recognizes many terms of the GATT, the multilateral trade pact originally negotiated in 1948—and as an subsequent amendment—that currently governs international policy among 86 member nations. Both governments have promised to refrain from imposing import and export restrictions by reaffirming the GATT rules against setting maximum export or import prices. They also agreed not to introduce any new tax, duty or charge on exports to the other country unless such a measure is required domestically.

Under the GATT, restriction of exports would be permissible in rare instances when there are "critical shortages" of food or other essential products, when domestic costs are introduced to conserve natural resources, to stabilize a lower domestic price of a commodity, or to secure products at short supply. Article 409 also expands on the GATT by stipulating that both governments would continue to have access to the same proportion of the grain as it did in the previous three years despite the restriction. If one nation can lock, the other country would still be allowed to acquire the same proportion as it did before the restriction. Canada's business could change whatever price U.S. consumers were willing to pay as long as the same price was charged at home, and neither government could interfere by artificially increasing the price of an export.

Finally, the chapter calls for co-operation and consultation between customs officials of the two countries "in order to facilitate the flow of trade between them." Such co-operation includes notification of plans to close a customs office or port, changes in the hours of operation, retaining transborder trade and re-allocating customs employment personnel. And each country undertakes to co-operate on the collection of export and export statistics, the harmonization of classification used in trade and the exchange of information. □

## CHAPTER 6 TECHNICAL STANDARDS

Both Canada and the United States have a series of laws, rules and regulations governing food safety standards, packaging and production methods. And while the stated goal of those rules is to protect public health, safety and the environment, trade barriers can be created when one country imposes its technical standards on the other. Both countries have been successful in resolving old disputes over Canadian federal standards that forced home-bakers from using plywood that contains knotholes larger than two inches in diameter.

American trade officials say that the rules are a non-trade barrier designed to prevent the entry of U.S. plywood into

# NEW FREEDOM IN THE FARM

## SOME MARKETING BOARDS REMAIN

### CHAPTER 7 AGRICULTURE

The starting point is ending less than 50 years of protection "to achieve, on a global basis, the elimination of all values limits which distort agricultural trade." The two countries declared their intention to pursue that objective through the so-called Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations, which began last month in Montreal. On a matter of basic, Canada and the United States agreed to provide broader access to each other's markets for grain products and most products. All tariffs would be phased out over 18 years, with one exception: Canada could impose special sanitary duties over the next 30 years to protect fresh fruit and vegetable products. The agreement would also allow Canada to keep its poultry and dairy marketing boards, which regulate production—and maximum prices—on both sectors. The United States would exempt Canada from import restrictions on beef and veal. Canada and the United States would also try to harmonize their

agricultural regulations and standards to remove hidden trade barriers.

In keeping with that commitment to eliminating global subsidies, both countries have promised that they will not apply export subsidies on agricultural products destined for the other country. They also have agreed not to sell their products in the other country's market for less than the purchase price, plus handling and storage costs. Canada has agreed that subsidies normally available to Prairie farmers under the Western Grain Transportation Act will not apply to grain shipped to the United States through B.C. ports—a major focus of indigenous producers in the American northwest. Because Malvestra, American growers did not export for some concerns, the subsidies would remain for shipments through Thunder Bay, Ont.

Despite the commitment in Chapter 4 to eliminating all tariffs, the negotiators made special provisions for vegetable and fresh fruit grown. Canada could impose temporary duties on imported American fruit and vegetables if prices of those goods on five consecutive trading days were more than 30 per cent below the average export price during the same month over the past five years. But those



Wheat harvest in Three Hills, Alta.: a commitment to eliminating all subsidies

provisions would not apply if Canada expanded its acreage devoted to fruit or vegetables beyond the average acreage of the previous five years.

Products covered by the deal include fresh, chilled or frozen meat derived from cattle, goats or sheep. Article 706 prohibits both countries from using restrictive measures, such as import quotas or voluntary export restraint agreements, to reduce shipments from the other country. Canada and the United States could impose such restrictions on third countries. If new free trade partner did so and the other failed to apply an equivalent measure, the restrictions on third-country exports could be applied to goods that the other party imported in its own products. This provision would prevent either Canada or the United States from circumventing and undermining an attempt to control third-country imports.

Both countries agreed that they would not restrict the flow of wheat, oats or barley, but they retained the right to impose restrictions on exports from the other country excepted separately. The United States also acknowledges in the wording of the agreement that its subsidies on those grown export Canadian subsidies, and once the support programs of the two countries reach an equilibrium, the Canadian Wheat Board would no longer be able to seek export permits to prevent American wheat, oats and barley from entering into its country.

Canada's poultry and egg industries, currently regulated by marketing boards, would experience only minor changes under free trade. Currently, the federal government sets year limits imports of U.S. chickens, turkeys and eggs by setting quotas, which would compare under free trade. If shortages occurred

during the year, the quotas could be more used. The quotas in the agreement represent the average annual quotas for the past five years.

In order to ensure that neither country erected hidden barriers to agricultural trade, both agreed to harmonize technical regulatory standards and inspection procedures. They also would set up reciprocal training programs and, when appropriate, use each other's personnel for testing and inspection of agricultural and food products. The objective, according to the agreement, is to "work toward the elimination of technical regulations and standards that constitute an arbitrary, unjustifiable or disguised restriction on bilateral trade." □



Grain grower Keith Wiley: complaints

## CHAPTER 8 WINE AND LIQUOR

Canadian complaints about government monopoly on beer, wine and liquor are resolved only by official objections in the United States. The issue has been Canadian pricing practices that impose stiff tariffs on imported wine, beer and spirits as an effort to encourage and maintain demand for Canadian products. The GATT also has forced Canada for discriminatory beer and wine pricing. In Chapter 8, both nations agree that, for liquor, the nations agree to end "discriminatory packaging" and "any other discriminatory pricing measures" immediately and to phase out differential on wine over six years. The new is allow spirit and wine to compete on the same basis as domestic products. However, whether it is Scotch in Australia or Jack Daniels in Newfoundland.

According to the agreement, the overall goal is to provide "equal treatment for Canadian and U.S. wine and distilled products in each other's market." Even so, wine producers and grape growers in British Columbia and Ontario's Niagara region have argued that they will be harmed by competition from American wine and liquor if the trade deal goes through.

But even without the free trade agreement, Canada's margins on wine may already be doomed. The Ontario government has agreed to phase out over 12 years the high tariffs protecting its wine industry in early the GATT.

If the agreement comes into force, all discriminatory tariffs that provincial liquor boards impose to pressure domestic wine would be phased out over a six-year period and totally eliminated by Jan. 1, 1995. The only additional price that provincial liquor boards would be allowed to apply to U.S. wines at import would be the extra shipping and storage costs.

The agreement demands both countries to ending discrimination designed to protect wine and liquor manufacturers from selling their products in either country. Decisions on which wine or liquor brands receive lower tariffs would have to be based on commercial considerations—not country of origin.

The free trade agreement also would wipe out distribution practices that force domestic wines and spirits. But there are exceptions: wineries or distilleries would be allowed to limit sales to their premises to their own products. Private wine stores in Ontario and British Columbia that control local wine sales of the free trade pact would be allowed to offer their own wine brands. Wine sold in Quebec grocery stores would have to be bottled in the province.

The agreement also maintains two global national exceptions: Canada would allow only U.S. grape harvests relative to the self within its borders, the United States would permit only liquor produced in Canada to be sold as Canadian or type whiskey. That provision could become the most of both nations. □

Canada. The result, from grow faster in warm climates, which means much U.S. lumber to have larger headboards. Canadian officials deny the discrimination charges, saying that larger headboards in plywood used in housing are unacceptable because they allow too much less to escape during cold winters. But the Americans have claimed that Canada is using its lumber size to stop its plywood exports out of Canada.

The still-unsettled knothole dispute is no controversy that the two countries intend a method for resolving the question in another part of the free trade agreement. But Chapter 4 incorporates an agreement that the two countries agreed in 1970 following the Tokyo Round of negotiations under the GATT in which they promised to avoid setting technical regulations and standards that would create unnecessary obstacles to trade.

While Articles 602 and 603 are designed to remove obstacles designed as technical standards, they still would allow both Canada and

the United States to join or maintain rules whose "purpose is to protect health, safety, animal or plant life, or the environment or consumer interests." Even so, the agreement says that those rules cannot arbitrarily discriminate between domestic and imported goods.

Chapter 6 demands each nation to "make available, on an outside-related, accessible and predictable for product approval with those of the other party." The free trade agreement also commits both sides to recognizing the other nation's laboratory-accreditation procedures and product-testing facilities—both of which can cause significant barriers to trade during a dispute. The case of pharmaceuticals, drugs that have been approved by health authorities in one country must on the way to obtain similar approval in the other. But the free trade agreement's new government-approved drugs could cross the border with ease. □

## CHAPTER 10 AUTOMOTIVE GOODS

The auto industry is the cornerstone of Canadian manufacturing, employing 140,000 people and generating revenues of \$37 billion. Vehicles and auto parts also represent the largest single component of the economic trade between Canada and the United States. Last year, Canada exported \$21.4 billion worth of automobiles, compared with \$14.3 billion worth of latest products, Canada's second largest export. Since the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact came into effect in 1986, the vehicle and parts industries have grown steadily in both countries and have become integrated as a continental base, contributing significantly to the prosperity of Central Canada. The free trade agreement incorporates the Auto Pact, which guaranteed Canada a share of production in rough proportion to the size of the big Three.

The agreement also introduces strict new North American content rules to make the Canadian and American auto industry more competitive with its rivals particularly Japan and Germany. If the agreement is implemented, it would also allow multinational automakers with assembly plants in North America to move their products across the Canada-U.S. border duty-free, a stipulation noted at attracting foreign investment. They could not, however, become members of the Auto Pact.

According to Article 1001, the policy of the free trade agreement is to administer the Auto Pact "in the best interests of employment and production in both countries." For the Canada side, this involves two important safeguards in order to ensure duty-free access to the American market, a major of vehicles must produce on auto in Canada for every one sold in the country. Secondly, vehicles or parts



Car buyers, seeking an integrated North America

produced in Canada must contain at least 66 per cent Canadian content. Automotive items between based in Canada can export vehicles or parts from anywhere in the world duty-free, provided they are meeting the two so-called safeguards. For the Americans, the Auto Pact applies only to vehicles imported from Canada. It gives vehicles or parts from Canada duty-free access to the United States, provided they

contain 50 per cent Canadian or North American content. Critics of free trade have argued that incorporating the Auto Pact into the agreement is meaningless because both countries have agreed to eliminate all tariffs over a period of 10 years. As a result, according to the critics, the threat of having to pay the duties on vehicles and parts imported into Canada, which forced manufacturers to comply with the safeguards, will be eliminated. Subsequent to the deal argue that the provisions of the Auto Pact, which apply only to Canada, can be used to enforce the safeguards.

Although the Auto Pact would remain in the agreement and Canada has retained safeguards protecting its own auto industry, a new North American content rule would determine whether vehicles and parts could continue to cross the border in either direction duty-free. This rule stipulates that 50 per cent of the materials and 50 per cent of the direct manufacturing costs would have to be North American.

It also contains a much narrower definition of North American content than the current rule in the Auto Pact, which determines whether automotive products from Canada can enter the United States duty-free. A manufacturer could no longer include expenses such as marketing, distribution and salaries for supervisory, administrative or chemical employees in order to meet the new content rule. As a result,

manufacturers would be forced to increase their purchasing and manufacturing in North America. The agreement also includes a list of 194 Canadian vehicle and parts manufacturers who are now meeting the safeguards in the Auto Pact and could continue to export duty-free from their countries. In addition to General Motors of Canada Ltd., Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd. and Chrysler Canada Ltd., the qualifying list includes five manufacturers, makers of off-road vehicles and trucks, parts producers and suppliers. The Canadian government would review the performance of those companies during the 1999 model year, which ends on Aug. 31, 1999.

Prior to the signing of the free trade agreement, no non-North American auto manufacturer, except Volvo Canada Ltd., had qualified for Auto Pact status by



Roughnecks on a drilling rig curb government's power to reduce exports

# A TRADE-OFF OVER ENERGY

## GREATER U.S. ACCESS, LESS CONTROL

### CHAPTER 9 ENERGY

The dilemma is clear: Canada overflows with oil, natural gas and electricity. But the domestic energy market is extremely small compared to the country's total reserves. The key to growth and prosperity for Canadian energy companies—already exporting about \$14 billion worth of products per year—depends on exporting into the huge U.S. market. Free trade in energy has basically existed since 1965, but the trade deal ensures that Canadian producers would have greater access to U.S. consumers by prohibiting export taxes, duties and levies.

But, in turn, Canada has agreed to give the United States greater access to energy supply by placing firm limits on when—and by how much—Ottawa could cut off exports to the United States. And the energy trade-off has

stirred stronger opinions than practically any other aspect of the free trade agreement.

Chapter 9 covers coal, oil, petroleum products, natural gas, uranium, electricity, propane, butane and ethanol. Article 902 affirms the two countries' rights and obligations under the GATT with respect to energy trade. Under the agreement—as under the GATT rules—neither country can set minimum prices for energy exports unless they are designed to prevent complaints of "dumping."

The agreement also forbids adding export taxes, duties or other charges unless they also apply to energy sold domestically. Taken together, those two measures would stop either country from discriminating against purchasers.

Critics argue that the provisions in Chapter 9 mean that Canada has effectively surrendered control over its energy supplies—a view vehemently rejected by the proponents of the accord. In fact, Chapter 9 clearly parallels existing rules on oil, gas, electricity and uranium prices and exports that the two countries have already agreed to under the GATT.

The trade agreement also would reinforce the GATT provisions prohibiting either country from restricting exports, except during emergencies such as supply shortages or for national security reasons. As well, Canada and the United States have agreed to narrow the definition of national security to essentially military or defense matters. For Canada that means that U.S. energy producers could no longer resist imports on the basis of fear of losing jobs or of Canadian energy.

Any embargo on exports would be subject to their limitations at Article 904 of the agreement. That section says that if Canada restricts exports to the United States, the United States must still receive "proportional access" to Canadian energy. Proportional access means that Canada could restrict exports to the United States only by the same proportion that it reduces total production. The exact amount would be equal to the average proportion of the Canadian energy that the United States bought over the previous 36 months.

Overall, however, the clause would not give U.S. buyers absolute rights to Canadian energy. In the case of an emergency, Canada would be under an obligation to sell any particular quantity of energy to the United States, as long as it provided American buyers with access to the required proportion of supply. American buyers would have the right to bid for the export portion of oil and gas contracts on the open market with Canadian buyers.

The trade agreement does not necessarily provide the final word in supply matters. The energy provisions of the agreement would be superseded by any oil-shifting commitments that Canada and the United States have under the International Energy Program, a 1984 agreement entered into by 21 countries in deal with oil shortages.

Meanwhile, the agreement provides that two governments could cancel if there was a change in regulatory policy in the National Energy Board in Canada, or either the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission or the Resource Regulatory Administration in the United States, which could disrupt energy trade.

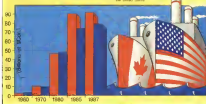
The agreement also would allow Alaska oil—currently prohibited for export—to flow into Canada at a rate of up to 90,000 barrels per day. And both countries agreed to remove restrictions on uranium exports, including Ottawa's existing requirement that Canadian uranium be upgraded before it is exported.

Future changes in energy between the two nations, according to the Canadian summary of the agreement, should promote "the treatment should there be any controls on energy commodities." □

## TRADING WITH A GIANT

Value of Canadian Exports to the United States

Canadian Exports to the United States  
U.S. Exports to Canada



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no 22-20, 1988

# EMERGENCY MEASURES

## RELIEF ACTION WHEN EXPORTS SURGE

### CHAPTER 11 EMERGENCY ACTION

What happens if Canada floods the United States with a very fine hockey stick? Or cheaper Louisville Slugger baseball bats, avoiding the rules in Eaton's International trade treaties usually include so-called emergency actions, which can be imposed to protect a domestic industry that has been hurt by a sudden and unanticipated surge of imports. In such cases, Canadian auto manufacturers complained that they could not compete against a deluge of brightly colored women's "candy" shoes. As a result, the federal government imposed a global quota on such shoes, even though most were coming from Italy and Taiwan. In Chapter 11, the emergency action provisions allow both governments to use tariffs to defend a domestic industry.

If the free trade agreement goes into effect on Jan. 1, 1989, as scheduled, all trade between the two countries would be eliminated after a 10-year period. In the event that a Canadian industry is suddenly flooded by U.S. imports and unable to compete during the transition period, the federal government



Harvesting apples in New Brunswick's Annapolis Valley.

could take two actions under Chapter 11: either it could suspend the tariff reductions for up to three years or it could increase the tariff.

But either government must meet certain conditions in order to use Chapter 11. The other country must be notified of a pending tariff action, and consultation must take place.

An emergency action can be taken against a specific product only once during the transition period.

As well, if one country used Chapter 11 for protection, it would have to compensate the other country with equally strict tariff reductions on another product. If the parties failed to agree on compensation, the agreement states that "the exporting party may take tariff action during trade disputes substantially equivalent to the action taken by the importing party."

The agreement also allows Canada or the United States to impose emergency actions against global trading partners under the GATT. At the same time, Chapter 11 allows Canada and the United States to exempt such other free trade measures against products from third countries. In fact, Article 100.2.3 states that Canada and the United States would be exempt from a global emergency action provided that their share did not exceed 30 per cent of the total imports of the offending product. □

### CHAPTER 12 EXCEPTIONS TO TRADE

If there is a place in the free trade agreement where free trade will flow, it is Chapter 12. It lists the most of the bargained exceptions and exemptions which—as the Canadian secretary of the agreement puts it—"recognize that governments must retain some freedom of action to protect their legitimate national interests." The widely accepted policy guide for "national interests" exceptions is contained in the GATT and has been incorporated into the Canada-U.S. treaty. Among the exceptions is which an exception to free trade may be made for protection of human animals or plant life, trade in gold or silver, and the protection of national assets or historical treasures.

In addition, some specific actions have already been included into the exceptions and are protected in Chapter 12 of the agreement. These include continued controls on the export of logs from both countries, of processed fish from Eastern Canada and of Canadian beer—valued most important of all, the copyright law of the U.S. Patent Act, which would continue to require that exports to the United States through American ports be certified as U.S. ships.

Without the beer exemption, Canadian brewers would likely drown in a flood of cheap American-made beer, because breweries in the United States are much larger and could easily outproduce their Canadian counterparts.

Evening Canadian fish plants would benefit more from the agreement than would the West Coast fishery. The agreement allows Quebec and the Atlantic provinces to keep export restrictions on processed fish, except a provision for eastern Canadian fish processing plants. But Canadian negotiators were unable

to secure an exemption in the agreement for the West Coast industry, which was the subject of a GATT panel review during the free trade negotiations.

The existing restrictions on log exports are designed to ensure that domestic processors do not run short of wood. Other Canadian and U.S. laws that protect the log processing industry also would remain. Also included would be the Jones Act, a law to the powerful U.S. shipping industry. The GATT provisions for exceptions in the national interest, incorporated in the agreement, have been used by other nations to justify prohibitions on trade in pornography, laws that protect the environment and endangered species, and product standards and regulations relating to trade in gold and silver. The GATT provisions also protect producers from competition in goods produced by cheap prison labor and allow nations to participate in international commodity controls.

entering the subgroups—and none will be members of the Auto Pact in the future. Manufacturers falling into that category include most Canada Inc. (Nissan), Acura, Honda, and Toyota. Most of those companies have restricted their activity in Canada to sales and distribution.

Those who are manufacturing in Canada would be required to meet the 50-per-cent North American-content rule in order to cross vehicles across the Canada-U.S. border duty-free. If they did not meet the new content rule, they would be forced to pay duty on a vehicle manufactured in one of the two countries and shipped to the other. For example, South Korea-owned Hyundai produced a car in Quebec and exported it to the United States without 50-per-cent North American content. American customs would treat the car as a South Korean product.

The free trade agreement also results in the elimination of two different types of so-called duty-reimbursement programs set up by the Canadian government. The programs were designed to encourage foreign vehicle man-



Workers making cars in Ford's Oakville, Ont., plant guarantee export

ufacturers to purchase parts in Canada. Under the first of these programs, a foreign manufacturer selling vehicles in Canada can purchase Canadian parts in order to export them to another plant or house in that country. For every \$1 of Canadian content in those parts, the federal government awards the foreign manufacturer a 70-cent credit. The credit is then used to reduce the price of the

manufacturer's vehicles at the Canadian border and consequently the duty payable. According to the free trade agreement, 13 foreign manufacturers, including Honda, Canada Inc., Mitsubishi, Nissan at Canada Inc. and Fiat Canada, now qualify for such export-duty reimbursements. The agreement would prohibit them from exporting parts purchased in Canada to the United States and it also says that all such programs would be terminated by Jan. 1, 1989.

Canada had also set up a so-called production-based duty-reimbursement scheme. The free trade agreement says that it currently applies to GM Automotive Inc., a joint venture between General Motors and Suzuki, Honda of Canada Mfg. Inc., Hyundai Auto Canada Inc. and Toyota Motor Manufacturing Canada Inc. Currently, those companies are manufacturing or building plants in Canada. Because they are deemed to have substantial investment in Canada, they would be entitled to a \$1 reduction of customs duties for every \$1 of Canadian content in the parts they purchase. The agreement stipulates that those programs would end no later than Jan. 1, 1989.

In addition to dealing with specific trade barriers, the agreement recognizes "the continued importance of automotive trade and production for the economies of the two countries." It also acknowledges that the auto industry is going through rapid change in a worldwide basis in order to make sure that the North American industry remains competitive. The two countries would establish a select panel of two experts to advise the governments and provide consultations at both nations.

And despite the magnitude and complexity of the auto-wireless trade, the agreement includes something that the average consumer can relate to: Canada has agreed to lift a decades-old export ban on the export of used cars from the United States. Beginning in 1989, Canadians could bring in used cars that were at least eight years old duty-free. By 1994, the age restriction would be phased out and export used cars without duty. □

## TARIFFS AND DUTY-FREE

### U.S. TARIFFS\* ON SOME CANADIAN GOODS

- Beer made from malt 1.6¢/litre
- Sparkling wine 30¢/litre
- Cigarettes 5%
- Milk, 5¢/litre
- Natural-fibre suits 77.2¢/kg+85%
- Women's silk blouses 7.5%
- Aluminum windows 5%
- Nuclear reactors 6.5%
- Word processors 2.2%
- Answering machines 3.9%
- Gold necklaces 8.5%
- Paper plates and cups 4.3%
- Umbrellas 8.2%
- Microwave ovens 4%
- Leather shoes 10%

### GOODS ENTERING U.S. MARKET TARIFF-FREE

- Public-transit vehicles
- Motor vehicles
- Human/animal vaccines
- Aluminum civil aircraft pipes
- Scrap iron and steel
- Natural gas
- Gold and silver bullion
- Electrical energy
- Newsprint
- Newspapers and periodicals publishing four times a week
- Parts for cooking stoves
- Antiques over 100 years old
- Coal
- Furbearing breeding animals
- Fur for

\* The percentage markup is on the wholesale price of the product. Source: The Canadian-U.S. Free Trade Agreement Tariff Schedule.

# COVER OPENING UP THE PUBLIC PURSE

## BIDDING ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

### CHAPTER 13 FEDERAL PURCHASES

**P**roceeding along the 16th parallel is suddenly in vogue. The rules for off-  
shore buy-sell—known as government  
procurement policies—are described in  
the Canadian consistency accompanying  
the free trade agreement as "important new  
provisions in expanding the market opportu-  
nities for suppliers of goods to government au-  
thorities." The agreement gives Canadian and  
American businesses greater access to the  
public treasury across the border. For Cana-  
dians, it is estimated that the market would grow  
from approximately \$3 billion from less than \$20  
million. The market for American suppliers  
would go to \$400 million from about \$20  
million.

Previously, the new markets would be created  
by expanding the number of contracts open  
for consideration bidding. The general GATT  
code permits bidding on any contract worth  
less than \$172,000 (U.S.). If free trade be-  
comes law, Canada and the United States have  
agreed that businesses in both countries would  
be able to bid on government contracts of  
\$50,000 or more in U.S. dollars (or its Canadian  
equivalent) at the time.

To facilitate the process, Chapter 13 makes  
provisions for so-called transparency proce-  
dure between the two countries. That means  
that each government would provide potential  
suppliers with equal information and opportu-  
nity as well as fair and nondiscriminatory  
evaluation. Each country also would maintain an  
independent review board that would ensure  
"equitable, timely, transparent and effective  
bid-challenge procedures for potential sup-  
pliers of eligible goods." In addition, the parties  
have agreed to "cooperate in monitoring the  
implementation, administration and enforce-  
ment of the obligations" of the chapter.

Despite the stated objectives, government  
procurement at both Canada and the United  
States continues to be an area of trade barrier  
known for restrictions that freeze. The pro-  
visions would not apply to state, local or provin-  
cial governments. And they would exempt the  
number of government departments or agen-  
cies that currently allow access to foreign

suppliers under the GATT code: in Canada, 25  
government departments and 10 agencies in  
the United States, 11 government depart-  
ments and 40 agencies as well as NAMA (the  
U.S. purchasing agency).

In addition, notable exceptions remain in  
Canada, the departments of transport, contras-  
truction, and fisheries and oceans are not  
included, along with certain areas relating to  
national security. In the United States, the  
departments of energy and transportation are  
not covered, along with the great majority of  
Portugal purchases.



Government warehouse in Ottawa; better known for restrictions than freedom

Many free trade analysts have criticized the  
exclusion and exemptions. They cite the \$3  
billion that Canada would have access to as a  
small proportion of the estimated \$320 billion  
of annual U.S. federal government expendi-  
tures on goods.

The other exception in government pro-  
curement relates to special provisions for small  
business and minority hiring. Under Washington  
don't Small Business Administration, business-  
es defined as being small for their economic  
sector—usually with 500 or fewer employ-  
ees—qualify for a "set aside" program, which  
prevents larger firms from bidding on a gov-  
ernment contract. And small American busi-  
nesses provide an estimated 16 per cent of all  
government contracts—an amount that is  
equivalent to the total public sector expendi-  
ture on goods and services in Canada.

Article 1305 of the agreement states that  
both Canada and the United States "shall  
undertake bilateral negotiations with a view to  
expanding the provisions of this chapter" with-  
in one year following the conclusion of the  
current GATT negotiations. However, the  
United States has already declined to carry  
on such talks. It opposes open access foreign  
access to its public spending—until that  
comes common practice around the world. □



Firefighter in British Columbia postures care in Halifax (below) rules for services

### CHAPTER 14 SERVICES

**T**he official Canadian summary bills  
Chapter 14 as a "liberalizing effort,"  
the first time that a trade agreement  
has covered services. In addition to  
goods, the agreement applies to a wide range  
of service sectors, and that has sparked  
controversy—and led to the expected  
change that it will damage Canada's health-care  
industry. According to the free trade pact,  
Canada and the United States decided to ad-  
dress the issue of trade in services because it  
"represents the frontier of international com-  
mercial policy in the 1980s."

Chapter 14 establishes that one nation will  
accord to eligible persons from the other coun-  
try "treatment no less favorable" than it does  
to similar businesses or individuals at home.  
The agreement sets out a framework for open-  
ing up trade in services in such industries as  
agriculture, forestry, mining, distribution, con-  
struction, real estate, insurance, computers,  
tourism and architecture. Excluded from the  
agreement are transportation, doctors, den-  
tists, lawyers and child-care services, as well as  
government services such as health, education  
and social services. The obvious controversy in  
the area erupted because the agreement in-  
cludes "health-care facilities management  
services" under the "management services"

category in Annex 1408 and, elsewhere in the  
text, defines the concept of "national  
treatment."

In general, the agreement is designed to  
free up trade in services by applying the "na-  
tional treatment" provision at the federal, gov-  
ernmental and state levels. If the agreement is  
implemented, that would mean Canadian  
and American suppliers of services covered by  
the agreement, and who conduct business in  
each other's countries, cannot be discriminated  
against. Governments would be prohibited  
from imposing discriminatory or arbitrary bar-  
riers upon foreign suppliers. And they could not  
demand that foreign suppliers establish a res-  
idency or presence within their borders.



The agreement also includes a  
number of provisions that limit and  
restrictions rules established in the  
winding of Article 1403 "have the  
purpose in the effect of discourag-  
ing or restricting or otherwise  
the access" of foreign suppliers. Be-  
sides out for price in the govern-  
ment's programs of the agreement is  
the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and the American  
Institute of Architects—which  
are now trying jointly to develop  
acceptable professional stan-  
dards for both countries. But  
the agreement says that govern-  
ments and national professional  
bodies in the two countries should  
"encourage the mutual recognition  
of licensing and certification  
requirements for the provision of  
covered services" by foreign  
suppliers.

In outlining these obligations,  
the agreement states that both the  
Canadian and American govern-  
ments would continue to stress  
their own policies. They would not  
be free to establish monopolies as  
long as they offer prior notice to  
affected parties and establish that  
these steps would be necessary for  
"practical, fiduciary, health and  
safety or consumer protection rea-  
sons." At the same time, govern-  
ments would not be required "to change ex-  
isting laws and practices."

Even so, it was the clear intent of both  
signatories that changes in the service sector  
would come. Currently, most of the regulations  
or practices that limit foreign trade in services  
have been laws. According to the free trade  
act, which covered services, says, says, says  
agreement "will have to conform fully to the  
national treatment obligations."

According to the federal government—as  
well as various business groups—Canadians  
will benefit from the liberalization of trade in ser-  
vices. Services currently account for 33.5 per  
cent of Canada's gross domestic product and  
76 per cent of the country's total employment.  
And supporters argue that any agree-  
ment that liberalizes and opens access  
to the large American market-  
place is good news.

But critics argue that opening up  
the Canadian service marketplace to  
Americans is a loser for always. For  
one thing, they point out, they are  
concerned over Canada's ability to  
compete with the United States in the  
service sector. They note that, while the  
United States has long been a leading  
service exporter, Canada's perfor-  
mance in that field has been lackluster.  
The figures from 1986 illustrate this  
weakness: the United States achieved a  
\$25-billion surplus on its services  
trade account that year—while Cana-  
da had a \$4.5-billion deficit. □



# ON-THE-JOB TRAVEL

## A PROPOSAL TO END BORDER RED TAPE

### CHAPTER 15 TEMPORARY ENTRY

A treaty confrontation at international airports indicates, Canadian business travellers have been a special concern of American immigration policy. These procedures often make it difficult for managers, salesmen, technicians and professionals to cross into the United States to conduct business and serve clients. In fact, Canadian entrepreneurs have often experienced delays and sometimes even been barred from travelling to the United States for business purposes. But Chapter 15 of the free trade agreement includes new rules to make it easier for business travellers from both countries to cross the border. According to Article 3505, the new rules reflect "the special trading relationship between the Parties, the desirability of facilitating temporary entry on a reciprocal basis and of establishing transparent criteria and procedures for temporary entry."

The new rules stop short of limiting the ability of Canada or the United States to manage their restrictive immigration policies. But they reduce the criteria for business travellers going to either country. And they also ensure that applications for temporary entry will be processed with fewer complications to permit timely entry for business people.

To ensure that the new rules apply only to legitimate visitors, the agreement divides business travellers into four categories: business visitors, traders and investors, professionals, and multinational transferees. To qualify for easier entrance into the United States, Canada or business travellers who meet the normal health and safety standards would also need to present proof of Canadian citizenship and demonstrate that they qualify for entry under one of the four categories. The same would apply for U.S. entrepreneurs wishing to cross the border into Canada.

Under the agreement, anyone could gain temporary admission to the United States or Canada by applying at any border point and supplying proof that they fell into the "business visitors" category. The business-visitors group includes people working in research, design, manufacturing, production, marketing, sales, distribution, and after sales service. And the category also includes general-service personnel working in industries such as computers,

financial services, public relations and tourism. For Canadian or American "professionals" would also qualify for easier cross-border access as long as they work in one of the fields specified in the agreement. The lengthy list includes accountants, engineers, scientists, research assistants, doctors, dentists, nurses, economists, architects, lawyers, teachers, economists, social workers, mathematicians, vocational counsellors, hotel managers, literary-access rules under the "traders and investors" category.

Entry would also be simpler for people being transferred by their companies between Canada and the United States. Provided they have been working for the firm for at least a year, they would qualify for less-restrictive rules and would be able to gain approval for temporary immigration in less than the current 90-day qualifying period.



Businessmen in flight: dividing business travellers into four categories

and, travel brokers, plant brokers, range managers, hunters, journalists, economists, dentists, technical writers and computer system analysts.

In certain cases, the agreement defines the qualifications expected: hotel managers, journalists and mathematicians must hold a bachelor's degree. The paralegals and hotel managers also must have "five years experience." Under the agreement, Canadians involved in trading goods and services in the United States and entrepreneurs who have invested, or plan to invest, large amounts of capital in the United States would also qualify for the new temporary

To ensure that no problems arise in the future over business assignments, the agreement calls for disputes to be decided in the joint Canada-U.S. Trade Commission. But complaints could be made only if a clear pattern of discrimination appears—or if a request for temporary entry is not decided within one year of application. Meanwhile, the two governments will meet at least once a year to examine the new rules and also discuss ways of facilitating cross-border business travel. If management consultants are needed for the task, they are free to travel under the agreement. □

## BUYING ACROSS THE BORDER



### CHAPTER 16 INVESTMENT

The very term "foreign ownership" has served as a battle cry for Canadian nationalists. But under Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Canada was declared "open for business." The critical issue that in Chapter 16 Canada has gone up too many of its rights in central American investment. In its summary of the chapter on ownership, one of the most contentious is the agreement, the government declared, "A transparent and secure environment is indispensable if the two countries are to achieve the full benefits of reducing barriers to trade in goods and services."

The goal of the chapter is to permit investment capital to cross the border more freely, and to treat American and Canadian investors in a fair and predictable manner. The agreement applies the concept of "national treatment" to most investment. Canadian doing business in the United States would be treated as though they were American investors, and Americans doing business in Canada, as though they were Canadian.

National treatment will apply only to investment law and practices enacted in the future. Because national treatment applies only to future laws, most restrictions on foreign in-

vestment already in place will remain in effect. The agreement specifically exempts from national treatment several kinds of national companies, including radio, television and cable companies, and firms that publish or distribute books, magazines, newspapers, films, videos or audio recordings.

The most important change is to the Investment Canada Act, which now allows the federal agency—the Conservative-sponsored to the former Liberal government's Foreign Investment Review Agency—to review and block proposed takeovers worth more than \$5 million. The agreement would move the threshold for review to \$100-million takeovers over a four-

year period, ending in 1992. The government's summary also says that the existing review mechanism will continue to operate in the energy sector. All proposed acquisitions by Americans in the natural gas, oil and uranium industries that are valued at \$5 million or more—the current threshold—will continue to be reviewed by Investment Canada. At the same time, by January 1992, Investment Canada would no longer review so-called indirect takeovers, as it does now, when an American parent of a Canadian subsidiary is taken over by another American company. Currently, the United States does not review indirect takeovers. In addition, neither side may impose certain so-called performance requirements on foreign investors. The prohibited restrictions are listed in the appendix.

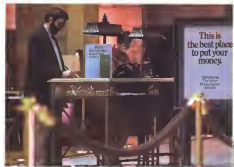
The exceptions to the agreement include all businesses—including federal and provincial Crown corporations—that exist solely and if the free trade act is implemented, as well, national treatment does not apply to the financial services industry, from banks to securities dealers—except insurance, government purchases of goods and services, or transportation services. National treatment would not apply to the "conduct and operation" of noncovered services such as education and health care. Those services could be owned by American investors, but Canada would retain the right to determine how they are run.

And other government could impose new laws that limit foreign-owned businesses on a basis different from domestically owned firms, so long as the taxation did not amount to "arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination." Expropriation of businesses owned by investors of the other country would continue to be permitted but only under certain conditions. The expropriation must be for a public purpose, in accordance with the due process of law, and must be accompanied by prompt, adequate and effective compensation at fair market value.

Transfers of profits, royalties, or the proceeds from the sale of any business in either country would be unrestricted, except where such transfers are inconsistent with certain laws, such as bankruptcy. Deposits held by the government, provided the capital stays in Investment Canada—would be received under the dispute resolution (Chapter 19) □



Bloomington's owner Robert Compagno battle cry



Bank lobby: economists in foreign-ownership rules for the big institutions

# COMPLICATIONS FOR THE BANKS

## FINANCIERS FACE A NEW CHALLENGE

### CHAPTER 17 FINANCIAL SERVICES

**F**or Canada's financial institutions—banks, trust companies and insurance companies—meeting regulatory reform has just proved to be far more significant changes than say that they are proposed under the new bill. But, the reforms have created problems for some Canadian financial institutions operating in the United States. They say that they could suffer a competitive disadvantage. Banks and trust companies in Canada—excluding foreign institutions—are not permitted to own securities firms. And all of the major Canadian banks now have to divest their subsidiaries in the United States—foreign and domestic—were prohibited from owning securities companies.

Canadian financial institutions welcomed the

Canadian reforms. But they sense unhappiness that American financial institutions now have greater freedom in Canada than Canadians do in the United States. That has created problems for Canadian banks with their newly acquired securities arms, some of which have U.S. branch offices. Because of their new Canadian bank affiliations, the securities firms could face restrictions under American law.

The free trade agreement attempts to help solve that problem. Already, U.S. laws regulating banks are under review, and members of the financial services industry on both sides of the border believe that, in the future, U.S. banks will be permitted to own securities dealers. Chapter 17 would extend these changes to Canadian institutions operating in the United States under the House of Representatives and the Senate just this week. And even if the American reforms do not take place, the agreement states that bank-affiliated Canadian dealers operating in the United States would be allowed to sell Canadian government securities

The Canadian government and the provinces are the largest issuers of securities in Canada. Among its securities activities, the Canadian government and the provinces raise more U.S. funds in American financial centers such as New York City. Typically, these government underwritings have constituted about 80 per cent of the issuances of Canadian dealers in the United States.

In return, Canada has made concessions in the area of foreign ownership that could lead to future changes, both for Canadian institutions operating in the United States and for American companies expanding into Canada's financial sector. Conversely, foreign ownership of financial institutions under federal jurisdiction is limited to a total of 25 per cent. The agreement would set, over the 20-year period, the existing Canadian law that an individual, corporation, or group of connected persons or companies—foreign or domestic—may own more than 10 per cent of a single Canadian bank. A single Canadian investor, or group of investors, would continue to be free to own up to 100 per cent of a U.S. bank.

American ownership of Canadian banks could offend investors. That has led to controversy, because some critics point out that unfriendly American investors could use a series of 10-per-cent share purchases in Canadian banks, as long as they were not affiliated. That could lead to a Canadian bank being controlled or owned outright by American investors. But spokesmen for the banking industry say that the scenario is totally illogical. Canadian banks are so widely held, blocks of 10 per cent are very difficult to accumulate, bankers say. In addition, they say that there is little incentive for a group of unfriendly foreign investors to take over a Canadian bank, since none would have control.

Another foreign-ownership provision also would be lifted in favor of American-owned banks operating in Canada. Currently, Canada places a ceiling on the total assets that foreign banks operating in Canada may own. 16 per cent of Canada's total banking assets, including foreign and domestic banks. Chapter 17 would exempt American banks operating in Canada, which have approximately 15, from that ceiling and therefore allow them to expand without restriction. But whether or not American banks would choose to expand aggressively is unclear. The 16 per-cent ceiling currently applies to the 27 banks currently operating in Canada, yet the total of their Canadian assets has reached only about 13 per cent of the whole Canadian industry. □

### CHAPTER 18 INSTITUTIONAL RULES

**I**n terms of trade value, Canada and the United States are the largest trading partners in the world. With such high stakes, it is not surprising that there have been complicated disputes in recent years—or that the two partners have had to compromise on the issues for the referees. In recent years, Canada became the first country ever to launch a positive-duty action against a U.S. export when it sought to lower American corn at the border. That step served as an effort to U.S. farmers against the impact of Canadian softwood lumber and uranium. Those disputes centered on one of two issues: subsidies or pricing. The free trade negotiators anticipated that implementing a comprehensive treaty would also cause some of other negotiators involving transportation and agriculture. As a result, they attempted to provide for orderly resolution of disputes before the new Canada-U.S. Trade Commission and its panel of arbitrators.

At the outset, Chapter 18 stipulates that either country can sue dispute-solving panels that already exist in the GATT for involvement in disputes that do not relate to tariff or anti-dumping issues. Those cases arise when a country believes government subsidies are involved or practices are being sold below the cost of production in their jurisdiction. Under Chapter 18, both parties must also consent to the jurisdiction of the agreement, but they cannot sue both.

If the agreement is implemented, the Canada-U.S. Trade Commission would be composed



Making Canadian shales and shingles celebrated forestry and disputes

of the Canadian and American cabinet ministers responsible for international trade or their appointees and an unspecified number of government representatives. If one country decided to pass a new law or amend an existing one that might undermine or violate the free trade agreement, the agreement requires that the country first send written notification to the other country. Either party could then request

a meeting in an attempt to reach a mutually satisfactory solution. If consultations failed during the specific time allowed, the dispute would automatically go to the commission, which could call for technical advisors or appoint a mutually acceptable mediator.

The commission could also refer a lingering dispute to a five-member bilateral panel for binding arbitration. Panels would have at least two members from each country. They would be selected from rosters developed by the commission. Individual members would have to possess technical expertise in a specific area and would be selected from non-governmental sources. The panels are distinct from those provided for in Chapter 19 dealing with alleged cases of unfair trading, although they may be selected on a similar manner. According to Chapter 18, each country would choose two members, with the fifth member selected by the commission. Finding commonality by the commission, the five panels would attempt to resolve the dispute. Should that step fail, the person would be drawn by lot from a list of arbitrators named.

During a specific dispute, both countries would be guaranteed the right to at least one representative before the panel. They would also be allowed to submit written arguments and exhibits. Panels would rule on whether an action is inconsistent with the agreement but would pass their decisions to the commission for resolution. If the commission ruled that the offending measure must be withdrawn or amended and the country that had introduced it refused to comply, the other country could suspend a benefit of equivalent effect. The arbitrators would call that getting even. □

## BUSINESS ACROSS THE BORDER

A Sampling of Canada-U.S. Trade in 1987

(Thousands of \$ U.S.)

	Cdn. Imports	Cdn. Exports
• Meat, Poultry, Chilled or Frozen	233,144	755,232
• Dairy Products, Eggs, Honey	58,886	40,636
• Wheat		56,703
• Tobacco	15,090	74,404
• Soap, Iron and Steel	74,899	101,703
• Crude Petroleum	138,006	4,518,750
• Natural Gas		2,527,254
• Iron Ore and Concentrates	245,439	425,182
• Coal	735,450	11,175
• Lumber	406,509	4,231,089
• Newspaper Paper		5,044,171
• Electronics	9,014	1,169,764
• Metals and Alloys	46,803	364,409
• Aircraft with Engines	700,265	234,980
• Trucks, Tractors and Chassis	2,990,503	5,983,370
• Cars and Chassis	5,550,628	14,021,374

SOURCE: UNITED STATES TRADE COMMISSION

# COVER JUDGING THE TRADE RULES

## DISPUTES WILL GO TO A NEW PANEL

### CHAPTER 19 DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

**S**ingles and doubles. Steel rights. Trade in N.E. fisheries. Automobiles. They may not leave the ring of grand dispute, but in the history of Canada-U.S. relations they have been the subject of protracted debate—and charges of unfair trading. The agreement recognizes that automobiles could be passed that do not conform to the code or that amendments could be used to

deal with unfair pricing and "the use of government subsidies"—one of the articles that Liberal Leader John Turner, challenged by Prime Minister Mulroney, cites as a threat to neutrality.

While the negotiations are taking place, Canada and the United States would retain their current trade security laws. Those allow both countries to impose countervailing duties on imports subsidized by the other country. The agreement recognizes that countervailing duties could be passed that do not conform to the code or that amendments could be used to

revert previous panel decisions on subsidies or dumping. In such cases, one country could ask for a historical panel to review the other's amendment. If the panel agreed with the complaint, the country would be ordered to seek a mutually satisfactory solution, through consultation, within 90 days. A new amendment, compatible with GATT and the agreement, would have to be passed within nine months of the consultation period. Alternatively, the other country could retaliate with comparable amendments to its trade laws.

In addition to dealing with amendments to the trade laws of Canada and the United States, Chapter 19 also defines the structure and role of the binational panels. Effectively, they would replace the courts in the review of opposing administrative decisions in trade cases. Should the Canadian Import Tribunal at the U.S. department of commerce levy a countervailing or anti-dumping duty against a product or an industry, either country could seek a review of the decision by a binational panel.

The panels would be chosen from a permanent list of 35 Canadians and 25 Americans, most of them lawyers. Within 30 days of a request for a panel, each country would select two members. The two countries then would have 30 days to select a fifth member. If they could not reach a decision, the four panelists would be entitled to select a fifth member. Picking that, the fifth panelist would be selected by drawing lots, although anyone previously rejected would not be eligible.

The agreement also imposes a strict time limit on panel decisions. A final ruling must have to be issued within 315 days of the date on which a panel was requested. If compromise, counter-panels or bilateral decisions can last for two to three years. Panels would review transcripts of tribunal hearings and documents submitted to the tribunal. They would accept written briefs from both complainants and respondents, would allow for replies to the briefs and would hear oral arguments. The panels would uphold the countervailing or anti-dumping duty imposed by the tribunal. Alternatively, the panel could order the administrative tribunal to dissolve, decrease or eliminate such a duty. Finally, the text of the agreement says that panel reviews would be binding on both countries and could not be challenged.

Neither party shall provide in its domestic legislation for an appeal from a panel decision to its domestic courts. □



Logging in British Columbia replacing the courts

# BOW TO CULTURE

## FOUR KEY EXCEPTIONS UNDER THE ACT

**C**hapter 20 is the repository for provisions that did not fit anywhere else. From a list of unclassified music programs of U.S. television alone to programs protecting national security. For Canadians, the most notable of the miscellaneous articles are those pertaining to the cultural industries—broadly defined as publishing, radio and TV, and film, audio and video recordings.

The first paragraph of Article 2005 states that, "Cultural industries are exempt from the provisions of the Agreement." There are four specific exceptions. One calls for the removal of tariffs on audiovisual products, such as recording tape and records. The second favors the Canadian government, in the absence of a private domestic buyer, to offer "fair open-market value" for any acquired-owned cultural enterprise when Canadian law requires its sale to Canadians. That provision enforces that federal government's 1985 policy on foreign ownership in the publishing industry that led to the purchase in December, 1986, by Toronto-based publisher Allen Lane of New York City's parent had been purchased.

The third exception addresses a long-standing "cultural" restriction, meaning Canadian television could no longer routinely show U.S. programs before American border TV stations. Canada could not require cable companies to block out material deemed obscene or to

ing border transit. By 1990, Canada would have to amend its copyright law to allow Canadian cable TV companies to pay for U.S. programs if captures and retransmits. Furthermore, the permission of the copyright holder would be required for shared or "consolidated" border transit.

Further protection for cultural enterprises is provided by their exemption from Article 2011, the Nationality and Investment article. That sets out the procedures by which either country could assert a dispute when a firm "any benefit" reasonably expected" had been blocked by the other nation. This exemption would leave the United States with one residual right of bilateral response to Canadian cultural claims. Article 2005.2 says that other country may take "measures of equivalent competitive treatment" to counter actions that would have been considered illegal under the second of the cultural industries exemption had not been in place.

Chapter 21, the last chapter of the agreement, contains the articles for the insertion and termination of the agreement. The two governments agree to exchange and publish all information necessary for the administration of the treaty. The second may be amended at any time by mutual consent.

It is scheduled to come into force on Jan. 1, 1989 "upon the exchange of diplomatic notes and would remain in effect," unless terminated by either party upon six-month notice to the other party. □



Karen Kato in La Sylvestre addressing a long-standing activist

## AN ISSUE THAT FLOWED

For months, critics of the agreement have asserted that it would allow the export of Canada's water during a crisis in the United States. For months, the proponents of the act have denied the allegation. The city direct reference to water in the final version of the trade agreement is in one area among 1,864 pages of tariff schedules governing the classification duties on hundreds of "goods. Those tariffs are the terms that govern the export of goods to protect specific domestic products from

foreign imports. "Water, including natural or artificial mineral waters and aerated waters, not containing added sugar or other sweetening matter nor flavors, ice and snow." It is mentioned, the item stipulates

that, over a 10-year period, the United States would remove a category duty of five tenths of a cent as such from Canada's natural and carbonated water.

In fact, Canada would double a 19.8 percent duty on "water" U.S. water exports. In interviews, federal trade experts defined "water" as a blanket water category that could include everything from water in bottles to bottled U.S. water.

Although water is not mentioned in the actual text of the agreement, the tariff item has prompted many serious questions. Is water in the ground also a "good" under the terms of the treaty? The Canadian answer because the agreement says that the two parties could not restrict the export of a "good." But most

Canadian experts in the government contend that water in the ground is not a "good." And in an attempt to work out the treaty provisions on "goods" do not apply to water in the ground, the Conservative government added a clause in Bill C-130, the legislation implementing the treaty. But the legislation directed the Commerce Minister when the final text was published, to amend the final text to read:

The amendment to Bill C-130 sought to exempt "water" defined as "natural surface and ground water in liquid, gaseous or solid state." That clause sought to establish that controversial sections of the final text agreement, such as the definition of "goods," would not apply to water in the ground. The C-130 amendment added that other sections of the treaty do apply to water "packaged as a beverage or in cans." Still, many fear trade critics might that ground water can be exported.

# BATTLE LINES ON THE GUT ISSUE

Tablets of stone from 23 prominent spokesmen on the fundamental election issue of free trade



Because of Canada's huge size, sparse population and regional diversity it is rare for a single issue to galvanize Canadians from coast to coast. It happened in 1982, when Canada came periodically close to losing an eight-game hockey series against the Soviet Union. It happened again in 1982, when Pierre Trudeau's Liberals pursued the Constitution. And it is happening now as Canadians contemplate free trade with the United States, an idea that is alive there the country itself—and just as durable.

Although free trade has divided Canadians, the advocates share one undeniable goal: a deep commitment to building a better country. Most feel their claims come of the great passion and arduous concerns from the debate.

**Reynold Bugeas, U.S. President (left)** "After the Allied victory over the Axis powers, Australia and Canada reinforced their efforts to help restore Europe to economic health. There were golden years of economic co-operation that saw the creation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which lessened down the tariff barriers that had so damaged the world economy; the International Monetary Fund; and the creation of the European Common Market. The theme that ran through it all was free and fair trade. Free and fair trade was the heartbeat of a unorganized Europe, a revolution-free world that saw a generation of growth unparalleled in history.

"We must keep these principles in mind as we come forward on Prime Minister Mulroney's free trade proposal, a proposal that I am convinced, will prove no less historic. Already, our two nations guarantee this world's largest volume of trade. This two-way traffic in trade and investment has helped to create new jobs for the millions, opened opportunities for both our people, and sustained the prosperity of both our nations."



**Turner (left), Mulroney, Broadbent** contributors to the country

**Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister (left)** "Canada was and does exist: given the opportunity to do so. That is why we stand for an expansive trade policy, founded on free trade with the largest market in the world.

"Second, more trade means more jobs and a strong economy is the guarantee of a distinctly Canadian program in health care, education, social services and environment. It is the new pool of wealth that is going to enable us to take care for the elderly and the disabled.

"Continued economic growth lets us move literacy and training and affirmative action programs."

**John Turner, Liberal leader (opposite)** "We must the spring to be there. The

Mulroney trade deal foresees no ability to do that. Without ultimate control over our economic, social, cultural and regional development policies, we are less of a nation and we are less able to meet the needs of our own population in our own way.

"I will not let Brian Mulroney sell out our sovereignty. I will not let that great nation remember its birthright. I will not let Brian Mulroney destroy a 130-year-old dream called Canada."

**Edward Broadbent, NDP leader (opposite)** "I understand Brian Mulroney likes to play policy. But it's not appropriate to gamble with the fate of our nation, with the fate of our traditions, with our social progress. Brian Mulroney has no right to gamble away the future of Canada."



**Atwood, the ways of a symbolic beaver**

**Margaret Atwood, poet, novelist and critic (opposite)** "The deal severely limits our power to introduce any new initiatives on the cultural front. It gives us not more freedom of movement, but much less.

"Our national symbol is the beaver, noted for its industry and co-operative spirit. In modern business, it is also noted for its habit, when frightened, of biting off its own testicles and offering them to its pursuer. I hope we are not succumbing to some form of that impulse."



**Guellick questions of myth and vision**

**Allen Guellick, Canadian ambassador to the United States (left)** "There is no sign anywhere that the Americans are a trade agreement as a means to enslave Canada up at last. That is a Canadian myth."

"The United States is a glambled, competitive, confrontational, hegemon, traditional society almost totally absorbed in the externally socially difficult task of governing itself. Americans have little time and less inclination to look northward at all, let alone with realistic decency on their minds. We would be foolishly to grant U.S. power that we would be foolish to share myths about our vulnerability to obscure our vision, to discount our prospects."

**Robert White, president, Canadian Auto Workers (opposite)** "No matter how much the government tries to obscure and confuse the issue, the fact is that the tariffs on Canada-U.S. trade will be phased out over the next 10 years. The 'safeguards' [in the Auto Pact] will therefore be reduced to 'guide-lines' with no penalty, no enforcement mechanism. Furthermore, our funds are tied in terms of any future trade-related trade policy. But as an industry so important to our manufacturing base, which remains foreign-dominated and vulnerable to international trends, it is unbelievable to surrender the policy shields we have, to lose absolutely vital investments of future policy, and leave the future to the uncertainties of market forces and unilateral corporate decisions."



**Beaudry: 'Unreasonable and excessive'**

**Margaret Beaudry, former Alberta family court judge (opposite)** "I favor free trade but not this free trade agreement. The cost of securing the remaining 30 per cent of our trade with the United States is unreasonable and excessive. With the apparent decline of the United States as the world economic leader, and the rise of Asia-Pacific countries in the future scene of expanding world trade, a better option for Canada is to develop multinational trade relationships, especially with countries in the Pacific.

"Countervailing duties, which are the great barrier to free trade, will not be eliminated by the agreement."

**Crispie: 'Complexity and ambiguity'**

**John Crispio, Toronto economist (left)** "Many Canadians have been misled into believing that the real choice is between free trade and the status quo. This deception helps to explain the complexity and ambiguity that characterize much of the reaction to free trade that our people, particularly in southern Ontario, Green the boom in that part of the country. It is hard for people there to believe that there is any need for change."

**Julia Langer, executive director of Friends of the Earth (opposite)** "The deal clearly facilitates the southwest flow of Canada's natural resources and does not even mention the fate of environmental regulatory programs, pollution control laws or public participation in local, regional and national environmental decision-making. Can we secure the environment will be protected? Probably not."

**George Bruser, chairman of Eldorado Nuclear Ltd. (left)** "Sanctification will be a major beneficiary, given the increasing role of its uranium mines in the U.S. supply picture during the 1990s. This is particularly encouraging for uranium investment prospects in the province. The past appears to be capable of doing with prestigious buyers in the U.S. uranium industry and Congress, which increases one-third of Canada's production."



**Hall: 'Nothing is damaging to medicine'**

**Emmett Hall, senior justice of the Supreme Court of Canada (left)** "I'm here to tell you there is nothing in this agreement damaging to medicine in Canada."

**Neil Worring, publisher and co-founder of The New Yorker of Canadians (opposite)** "I can say without the slightest bit of mixture that there will

not be a Canada generation from now if this agreement is allowed to proceed."

**Thomas d'Amboise**, president of the *Business Council on National Issues* (BCNI): "Canada exports more per citizen than the people of any other industrial nation. More than 30 per cent of our national income is generated by exports. More than three million jobs—greater than one-quarter of our workforce—depend on export trade. Of this trade, the United States alone is about 80 per cent. This southward flow of our commerce provides jobs to more than two million Canadians."

"We don't always appreciate the critical link between trade and the growth of jobs. Since the Second World War, the value of our exports has increased more than twelvefold. During this period, we achieved extraordinary economic growth at the same time that barriers to trade were being lowered throughout the industrialized world. Exports have built our nation. Exports have provided us with one of the highest standards of living in the world."

**Maude Barlow**, chairman, *The Council of Canadian Agencies*: "Make no mistake. We cannot integrate our two economic systems and leave our social systems different. Eventually, they will become similar, not because our standards have set, but because we are dealing with a country no much bigger, their standards will prevail."



**Romanow (left) and LaBerge**, adversaries with one inescapable goal

**Steven Romanow**, free trade negotiator (left): "Let's get it straight. Those who oppose free trade should have their opinions on facts, not misconceptions."

**Lois LaBerge**, president of the *Quebec Federation of Labor* (right): "We are convinced that thousands and thousands of jobs will be lost."

"Wherever its shortcomings, the agreement provides for a major liberalization of trade and for the removal of many trade obstacles. It increases access to 18 identifiable ways, ranging from the complete removal of tariffs on all trade in goods, to the easing of border crossings for business and service personnel, whose frequent harassment at the border is a significant source of friction."

"On grounds of access to the U.S. market the Canadian exporters the agreement must be regarded as a major success. Everyone would have liked more. But the agreement offers more in one fell swoop than any of the world's many regional trade agreements have managed to develop over several decades."

**Marionne McCann**, chairman, *McCann Food Ltd.* (right): "Canadian farmers already cannot supply the food-processing industry with milk, cheese, poultry, eggs, turkeys and other vegetables at competitive prices comparable to those in the United States and without damage to themselves. And Canadian processors are not allowed to keep those agreements in the U.S."

**Thomas Casanovi**, director of the school of *Public Administration* at Kingston, *Ont.'s Queen's University* (left): "The free trade agreement provides that, over the next five to seven years, both countries will attempt to develop a mutually acceptable set of rules relating to subsidies and other anti-competitive measures. The prevailing wisdom in Canada is that this will constrain Canada more than it will the United States. The opposite is far closer to the truth."

"If, as I suspect, Canada's new initiatives on the regional-policy front will be more successful than in past years in this area, Canadians may be quite prepared to agree to such a mutually pact, since these new regional initiatives represent a movement away from measures that are counterproductive to those that inherently are not."

"In contrast, a number of U.S. states here, over the period of the 1980s, suddenly discovered regional-development initiatives as the wile of the anti-bell-to-united shift so that they are likely to be much more difficult to bring into law. Therefore, it is the United States, not Canada, that will probably be the stumbling block in the subsidy code. Advantage Canada." □



**McCann** seeing problems of food supply



**McDougall**: "A lot of fear-exaggerating"

**Barbara McDougall**, minister responsible for the status of women (left): "There is a lot of fear-exaggerating. Under free trade, it will cost less to build a house and it will continue our social mobility. Our social progress will not be lost."

**David Peterson**, Ontario premier (right): "I think we're already got uncolored as the deal. I think we're giving away more than we've got, and I think we're regret it."

**Richard Lippsey** and **Robert York**, co-authors with the Toronto-based *C.D. Howe Institute*, in the institute's *Trade Monitor* (left)

# You can hide them.



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## The feel of a knife in the back

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**I**n the escalating rhetoric about free trade, one voice is silent: Peter Nygard, the media, Pennsylvania clothing manufacturer who once led his industry's support of the Mulroney initiative, has opted out of the fight and mutters about what happened. "It was the most fruitless, unproductive experience of my life," he told me recently. "It opened my eyes to the instantaneous complexities involved and to what this word 'bureaucratic reality means—how clever and sneaky they are and how they turn their enemies into puppets."

Then from a man who had previously boasted that free trade would "act as a great catalyst and finish off the uncertainty of our current situation... we must use this moment when we have two guys—Mulroney and Reagan—with a similar mobility and mandates. Free trade is an issue that can't be denied, and we don't need to lose anything in the process." When the negotiations began, Nygard was appointed head of the clothing industry's inter-branch trade advisory committee, and for two years was one of the treaty's most active proponents, rallying services apparel-makers behind free trade. "My voice was heard again, setting one of the country's most sensitive industries," he recalled, "and I spoke to many other businesses which have a high labor input. I carried the whole movement, and the government was very interested in keeping me vocal. I was very sincere in my belief that free trade was the right course for Canada, a consensus thing for Mulroney to undertake, and it will give him full marks for the attempt."

But, lamented Nygard about what eventually happened, "the sad truth is that, as the ultimate treaty, any end of the industry was sacrificed—everything was sacrificed for commerce. It turned out to be not only a bad deal for us, but it doesn't serve any useful purpose and it may fulfill the mission of free trade." He says that what turned him against the agreement was that it compromised the internationally accepted trading convention that goods are considered domestically made even if raw materials

*I'm being sold down the river because somebody on the other side flexed his muscles. It's a real horror story'*

come from any third country, providing the labor-value added in the exporting country accounts for more than 50 per cent of the final price. At the moment, Canadian textiles and garments exported to the U.S. face a 25 to 30 per cent tariff, which under the agreement is removable only if domestically made raw materials have been used. "That's responsible to sort out," said Nygard. "Canadian garments use about 60 per cent domestic and 40 per cent imported raw materials, but the sources must be interchangeable. It's impossible to verify exactly where every part of every garment came from. If it means we can't merchandise our way through that, our only claim to the American market was our unique ability to innovate from all over the world. That was our niche, that was how we could compete, even though our tariff structure is twice as high as theirs."

Nygard and other industry spokesmen say that U.S. negotiator Peter Morley, who visits American textile plants, intends, among his last favors, to ask Simon Rousseau of the Caradon Group, the garment manufacturer's agent, to go along on the condition that Ottawa cession through a \$300-million duty-remission plan that would have refunded tariffs paid by Canadian clothing manufacturers on imported

Merino. But the Mulroney government pulled the compensation payment for the manufacturers down to \$33 million, and that is when Nygard's fury took root. "They changed it after the agreement was signed," he counters. "The \$300 million was on the table when the Canadian government renegotiated on everything. It was all decided by American policy. I was right in the middle of it. One minute getting my hat on and my legging my son off to get this deal through, suddenly buddy with the top people in Ottawa. Next thing I'm being sold down the river because somebody on the other side flexed his muscles. What a scenario! It's a real horror story."

Nygard says that he has documents proving that the Canadian government was committed to the \$300-million payout, with both Finance Minister Michael Wilson and then-International Trade Minister Francis Coady agreeing to the principle at the commission arrangement. Nygard is not alone, but he says that he deeply believed in his cause. Proud of his conviction is that he is one of the few Canadian companies that will not be hurt, even if the free trade deal happens to go through. Half of his \$300-million in annual sales directly accounts in the United States, and mostly textiles and raw materials he uses are imported from China, Taiwan, South Korea and Indonesia. "There are no labor cuts in China," he explained. "They price their goods up to the import quotas of their customers and pay the most attention to how many people they can employ. Their pricing defies all realistic lines of supply and demand. No one can compete against them, because if I get my price down to zero, they'll still do it for less. They'd give me money."

Nygard is currently expanding his lines into new upscale lines, moving into \$240 ladies blouses and go-around women's suits. Instead of relying on retailers to finance his clothes, he has opened 60 retail outlets under his own label and plans to expand further. He ranks among Canada's most adventurous entrepreneurs, and his new \$7-million Toronto headquarters are a testament to his faith. He is in fact the very model of the ambitious free-enterpreneur for whom the free trade initiative was designed.

His current disquiet from it, based as it is on deeper considerations than self-interest, contradicts what he once said about the Mulroney government's free trade deal. "Look," he told me, sipping a cappuccino in the luxury private lounge he maintains at his corporate headquarters, "I'm okay—I'm concerned on both sides of the border. But there was the moment on my life when I made a difference in history, the evolution of Canadian fashion that has in the past been treated like an orphan industry. I wanted to build a beautiful structure, like this building, to make to move the Province, where fashion is as a potential as an integral part of French culture."

Has he, he says, been commonly recognized as the country's loss? "I applied all the pressure I could at the right time at the right place," he declared, "and I still lost the damn thing. There won't be a Nygard again for 50 years who puts in that deal or an effort."

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## BUSH COUNTRY

THE REPUBLICANS  
RETAIN THE WHITE  
HOUSE BUT FACE  
A DEMOCRATIC  
MAJORITY IN THE  
U.S. CONGRESS

For more than 50 years, he had doggedly pursued his dream, ending countless congresses, losses and painful humiliations. But when victory finally came to him last week—cloning him the 43rd president of the United States—George Herbert Walker Bush was surprisingly subdued. On the night before his 54-to-46-per-cent triumph over Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis, he had scarcely slept as his Houston hotel suite. And as given was the tone of his gracious and conciliatory acceptance speech that, the next morning at his first news conference as president-elect, Bush confessed that he had felt torn by mixed emotions—"somewhere between total exhilaration and resignation that the challenge ahead is going to be immense."

In fact, a measure of just how awesome that challenge may be was becoming apparent even as Bush spoke. Despite his attempt to reassure U.S. allies with the swift appointment of his longtime confidant and campaign chairman, James Baker, as secretary of state, the Dow Jones industrial average plummeted more than 47 points by late last week, and the U.S. dollar plunged to a 16-month low against the Japanese yen. These drops reflected the financial markets' concern that Bush has emerged from the rapid and vindictive 36-hour campaign without a clear strategy to tackle the signature problems now facing the country—a national debt that will total \$3.2 trillion by the time he takes office Jan. 20, and a trade deficit expected to reach \$168 billion. As Bush sought to lend the winds still blowing from the sea, some commentators observed that, being vindicated? Dukakis, he now faces a more formidable foe: grim reality. Said Myer Raubach, former undersecretary of state for economic affairs: "If George Bush isn't really

intimidated by being president of the United States, he's not me.

Complicating Bush's task is the fact that he will preside over a government bitterly divided. Despite his substantial 40-state sweep—giving him 436 Electoral College votes com-

prised right wing, which regards him—and Baker—as radical moderates. And even now, election night, his former Republican rival, Senate majority leader Robert Dole, charged that Bush had done little to help his party's congressional candidates. Said Dole: "It's go-



Nancy and Ronald Reagan, George and Barbara Bush, Dan and Marilyn Quayle: the veiled and vituperative campaigns left no clear blueprint for action

pared with Dukakis's 112 in 10 states and the District of Columbia—voters strictly carved his poster by vintageship Democratic control of Congress. Picking up five more seats in the House of Representatives and another in the Senate, the Democrats will convene for the 103rd congressional session next January on a mood made all the more combative by the campaign's unpopularity. That chance could be down Bush's presidency in four years of conflict and stalemate, impairing his pledges to take action against such problems as aid and race (page 37).

Bush also faced troubles from his own party's

ing to be tougher because the bottom line in this case is how many votes you have." In the past, Bush has often been criticized for avoiding decisions, preferring to stabilize conflicting views. But his ability to compromise may prove vital if he is to win cooperation from congressional Democrats eager to embrace him over his campaign losses. "Read my lips, no new taxes," said Massachusetts Democratic Senator John Kerry. "We have to master the right things when we need his lips. It's going to take a good relationship with God and the lady upstairs to pull those things off."

Dukakis, meanwhile, seemed as relaxed by

his defeat as Bush had been relaxed by his victory. On the evening after he had conceded his loss in a congratulatory phone call to Bill Clinton, he said that he would not be taking any of those things that Bush, despite the fact that it falls largely under state and local production. "Look," said Dukakis, "there's no question that the negative campaigning hurt us." The governor would concede that the very success of the attack would set more vindictive in fact, a campaign—a verdict with which commentators unanimously agreed. This year's campaign, Dukakis warned, "may well set a standard we live to regret."

But even before Dukakis offered his own candid post-mortem of the election, other analysts took to the airwaves to lambaste him for his failures. Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young blamed his advisers for an inept advertising campaign. Not only did they not know his native South, and Young, "they did not know the Midwest," he said, "they did not know the people." Other critics exposed dismay at Dukakis's levity in election-eve appeals to the nation. At a time when his suddenly overpaid campaign was registering gains in the polls, he chose to devote a large portion of his 30-minute commercial to maintaining over his campaign's failures. But most dispirited Democrats agreed that Dukakis's principal blunder was in talking too long to select a single coherent campaign message—"I'm on your side"—that played on the traditional populist chords of economic hardship and class resentment.

But critics—even within Dukakis's own Boston staff—also faulted the governor's flaws of character, including his stubborn refusal to listen to advice. And some party veterans called for reform of the process that produced their candidate. Said Robert Rothenberg of Washington's liberal Institute for Policy Studies: "He presented himself as a moderate, a pragmatist, a

pragmatic liberal, an unassuming Brookline reformer who is frightened by racism and working people and blacks. The trouble is, that doesn't mean many votes." Rothenberg and other supporters of Jesse Jackson are urging the party to turn to him to vote as a vice for the economically disadvantaged. That, pointed against them, conservative Southern Democrats led by Georgia Senator Sam Nunn, who declared that "the goal is to get the Democratic party back in the middle of the spectrum"—that's where the voters are.

Rothenberg argued that Dukakis capitulated to these forces in his campaign—challenging Jackson and the party's loyal core of black voters—and the strategy led to his loss in a single southern state. Instead, although blacks sup-

porting up Dukakis's political harbor. A CBS News-New York Times exit poll showed that 67 percent of the voters that cast their vote for one of these men for Bush, despite the fact that it falls largely under state and local production. "Look," said Dukakis, "there's no question that the negative campaigning hurt us." The governor would concede that the very success of the attack would set more vindictive in fact, a campaign—a verdict with which commentators unanimously agreed. This year's campaign, Dukakis warned, "may well set a standard we live to regret."

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## World Notes

## DISASTER IN CHINA

China's worst earthquake in over a decade hit the province of Yunnan. The earthquake—which registered 7.4 on the Richter scale—killed at least 390, injured about 3,000 more, and 900 people and devastated southern villages in the mountainous region near Kunming.

## DISTORTING THE PAST

The president of the U.S. German guild, Philipp Jansen, got it wrong last Sunday when he called the early years of the Nazis "Third Reich's 'breakthrough process'" and said that Hitler had been "chosen by Providence." In "The Germans to choose him," Jansen said that the speech to parliament on the 25th anniversary of Kristallnacht, the night of terror that swelled the street of the Holocaust—was intended to show the others of nations that should be shocked at the actions of the Nazis, and Jewish groups condemned him for his insensitivity.

## PALESTINIAN PROTESTS

Protesters in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip staged a general strike to mark the start of the 12th month of their struggle, an uprising. Since last December, 316 Palestinians and 11 Jews have died in the anti-Israeli violence.

## A HAITIAN'S DENIAL

Haitian police are investigating the death of retired colonel Jean-Claude Duvalier, who was killed with the former Duvalier dictatorship. Duvalier died over two hours after being shot by a man who had been in the army.

## SERVING RETRIBUTION

At a parliamentary hearing broadcast on national TV, legislators accused South Korea's former security chief, Chung Se-dong, of mistreatment and torture of political opponents during the eight-year rule of President Chun Doo-hwan. Many protesters demanded that Chung be arrested and executed.

## A PRISONER EXCHANGE

An peace treaty in Geneva, Iran and Iraq agreed to start exchanging sick and wounded prisoners of war on Nov. 26.

## TUMULT ALIBI

Protest against a Marxist group from the Sikhistan state minority prompted the Sri Lankan government to advise over 4,000 families to leave the country. The People's Liberation Front was demanding the resignation of President J. R. Jayawardene because of his peace efforts with the ethnic Tamil minority.

portant Dukakis over Bush by a 3-to-1 margin, far fewer of them voted in key northern states than last year's election. In Illinois, where Dukakis lost by nearly 125,000 votes, exit polls reported that voter turnout dropped by about seven per cent—and by as much as 10 per cent in Chicago's largely black Cook County. Part of the decline was in line with an overall mood of apathy and disgust at the campaign, only an estimated 48 per cent of the nation's 183 million registered voters cast their ballots, down by five percentage points from 1984. Meanwhile, as Jackson prepared for his third presidential bid in 1992, many Democrats predicted a bitter battle for the soul of the party—one that could become all the more ugly if the debate splits along racial lines.

But one Democrat to emerge with increased clout from the fray was Dukakis's running mate, Lloyd Bentsen, who easily captured the Texas Senate seat. The conservative (Bentsen failed to win Dukakis the southern white vote as even to carry his own state's 28 electoral College votes)—his chief mission when he was named to the ticket. But after starting the campaign as a stiff and somewhat bland speaker, the 67-year-old politician evolved into a potent firebrand in the struggle, who made so many speeches in the final week of the campaign that he spent election night almost exhausted by fatigue. He proved such an unexpected hit in college campuses that one local newspaper described him as a "junior hero [there]," and polls showed that he had the highest personal ratings of the four figures on the presidential ticket. That popularity is expected to increase Bentsen's already considerable influence as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, where he has concentrated himself to fighting one of Bush's chief campaign planks: a revision to the current tax law.

In contrast, neo-conservative-elect Daniel Quayle clearly remained an embarrassment to many Republicans, even in their hour of victory. After sending his mention of him during the final weeks of the campaign, Bush still seemed determined when he spoke at Quayle's at a Washington welcoming ceremony the morning after the election. Addressing nobody other than crowds at Andrews Air Force Base, Bush assured them: "He's going to be one of the great vice-presidents. You watch him." But voters have advised Quayle to keep a low profile during his first months—where, in essence, that he should have as trouble in maintaining the key advisors who had groomed him for the campaign have already left his service.

In fact, Bush's swift move to establish himself as the substantial figure of his administration seemed designed to dispel doubts about his judgment after his appointment of Quayle. As Bush's key political strategist since the two vice-presidential neighbors three decades ago in Houston, the millionaire lawyer shares such a support with the pseudo-scientist that the two regularly communicate by e-mail, meetings mostly by exchanged glances or silent eye-rolls. So great is Bush's influence that James David Barber at Duke University speculated on whether a Bush administration would really mean a "President Jim Baker" behind the scenes. But his appointment was hailed by 11-2 allies in Europe, who in a grand old leading role in controlling international exchange rates over the past two years.



Dukakis, with wife, Betty, conceding defeat: 'I gave it my best shot'

Bush himself is expected to devote much of his attention to foreign policy—his first role in the new term, that 35 per cent of Bush's voters said they chose him. But this week, when Bentsen's Press Secretary Margaret Thatcher calls on him in Washington, she will reportedly offer him her own thoughts on the subject, including her desire for a full-scale summit of world leaders in London next June to determine a coherent strategy for dealing with the Soviet Union. Last week, Bush said that he was ready for a summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, provided it occurred substance.

But the shape of a Bush administration remains hazy—aside from replacing Reagan's per of policy based on the subject talks with talk of his favorite—pinkie. Bush has vowed to carry on Reagan's legacy. And about 64 per cent of his support came from those who

approved of Reagan's performance—the single greatest factor behind his win. At the same time, some analysts predict that the bottom line supporters were sporting on election night—'We are the change'—may prove prophetic. Bush has promised to "reinvigorate" the government with new ideas. And as rumors poured into his transition office to fill the 6,000 political patronage jobs listed in the government's official "pink book," conservatives pointed to a majority of them. Still, most observers say that, unlike the Reagan administration, Bush's White House will harbor few right-wing ideologues. Said Virginia conservative director and spokesman Richard Viguerie: "It will be a high-brow, Establishment, country-club type of administration, and their main concern will be to make it safe for multinational corporations to make a profit around the world."

Conservatives, as well as moderates, say that Bush's chief test will come when he is faced with making his first Supreme Court appointment. With Justice Harry Blackmun turning 80 last week—the third highest number of the nine-year high court to reach that age over the past two years—the opportunity to exert lasting influence over the country's political system may well come soon. Bush has declared that he has no ideological litmus test for his selection and that he would support a "moderate with conservative views."

Bush's Detroit-based pick, Robert Byrd—who, along with semi-presidential chief of staff Craig Fuller, will oversee Bush's 73-day transition—says that Bush will be a more activist president than Reagan. But after the success of his controlled campaign, analyst Jerry Hagopian, author of *Reagan's Reagan*, predicts that Bush may remain inaccessible to unsolicited remarks with great and public because of his lack of performance and history of verbal misadventures. "If they let Bush be Bush," said Hagopian. "The potential for him making a firm job is much greater."

That potential has encouraged many historians, who are looking to Bush for new content for their work. Paul Herington, syndicated columnist Art Buchwald. "I had my worries about Mike Dukakis becoming president and having to write about him for four years." Such lighthearted assessments may even brighten Bush as he returns from a Florida holiday this week to contemplate the sobering prospect of saving his dreams come true—and leading his nation into an uncertain new decade.

BARCI McDONALD in Washington

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WORLD



Bush and Mulroney at 24 Sussex Drive, addressing trade and civil war

## Neighboring relations

What a Bush presidency will mean to Canada



It was a bleak moment as Bush asked the border. On a cold afternoon in January, 1987—was it the White House still reeling from the revelations of the two-month-old Iran-contra scandal—after lunch on the deck of Vice-President George Bush's 18, Pierre Minister Jean Mulroney announced his own political views. With his standing in public opinion polls at a then-record low, Mulroney complained that the Bushes had disgraced his government. Bush not only personally pleased Mulroney that afternoon to reassure him, but the next day he also walked into the Oval Office to ask for President Ronald Reagan's blessing for a quick trip to Ottawa to boost the Prime Minister's sagging fortunes.

That two-hour run—from which Bush emerged to declare graciously that he "got as excited" by Mulroney—wasn't unusual of the Prime Minister at home. And Bush went on to lead the fight when the administration's savings \$3 billion in funding promised for an

and ran steady. In fact, Bush's idea to reduce the deficit in an example of how strongly a personal appeal can move the man who will become the next U.S. president. Analysts from both countries also see it as a demonstration of the knowledge and sensitivity Bush brings to the special Canadian-American relationship. Nor is it the only favorable omen. Bush made a pledge to fight and cut one of his chief campaign themes. And his newly named secretary of state, James Baker, personally hand-washed out the deal deals at the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement while treasury secretary Sol, as many Canadians predict a new, even warmer bilateral climate, other others offer a more colorful forecast. Pointing out that Bush will face a hostile Democratic Congress, Paul Henscher, political minister at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, declared "The American people have again elected two governments. It doesn't make it easier to advance Canadian interests when you have people in conflict with each other."

In fact, analysts predict that the final impact of Bush's election on Canada may hinge on the

outcome of the Nov. 21 election. From the campaign trail, Mulroney—who telephoned Bush in Houston the night of his victory—praised him as "a great friend of Canada for many years." And Liberal leader John Turner sent him a congratulatory letter the next morning, although it contained no mention of the free trade deal. Instead, Turner assured Bush that, if elected, he would co-operate "to ensure that the relationship between our two nations is harmonious and productive." And later, Turner told reporters that, if he won, he would explain to Bush that Canadians turned down the deal in a "radical change in direction that didn't meet our sense of sovereignty."

Charles Dorn, director of Canadian studies at Washington's School of Advanced International Studies, said that some U.S. officials are surprised by the Canadian election campaign. "John Turner is well-known by the policymakers down here," said Dorn. "But they know the old John Turner. I'm not so sure they know the new John Turner." He predicts that Baker, having spent political capital on the free trade deal, is unlikely to want to reopen negotiations. Added Dorn: "There won't be any positive efforts. They'll just say, 'Well, we tried. Now, we'll look somewhere else.'"

But Myra Ruthven, former undersecretary of state for economic affairs, warned that a Liberal victory could unravel U.S. years of a return to such protectionist measures as the Foreign Investment Review Agency. Said Ruthven: "That kind of thing could poison the atmosphere." But both Dorn and Ruthven deny Mulroney's contention that being up to the free trade deal would provide a backlash against Canada on next year. As Mike Hickey of the Canadian Confédération Américaine predicted: "The free trade agreement will not be the reason for the United States to spend billions of dollars closing up the wall. We'll get an end-run agreement, because Americans don't like the way they trade."

Other analysts argue that strong relationships between leaders can modify the sometimes-binding winds of international affairs. Former Canadian ambassador to Washington Peter Dewar recalls an incident during the Reagan administration's first formal White House dinner in 1981 when Barbara Bush caught sight of Tower's wife, an old friend. Breaking protocol, the vice-president's wife stepped out of the receiving line and threw her arms around Geraldine Tower. Over the next year the ambassador lunched frequently with Bush at Washington's Ains Club. "I always found her extremely well-informed, warm and friendly," said Dewar. "Bush was very favorable on issues relating to Canada." But Dewar cautions against expecting too much from a man whose primary job is to protect American interests. "Sometimes we get the feeling up here that if we get someone in the White House who knows Canada, it might lead to a nice gap, he's going to be not as us," said Dewar. That might be an unrealistic hope. But in the case of Bush, he added, "what we can hope for is wisdom."

NANCY McDONALD in Washington

# The Maine White House

*Life may never be the same in Kennedunkport*



Nowhere did Republicans whip more coalition or pro campaigner costs more bitterly than in the Atlantic canoed hills on the outskirts of Kennedunkport, Maine, when the captain "Boh" elected flailed on TV screens at 9:57 p.m. last Tuesday. During the campaign, Boh, whose voting station is a hotel in the town, claimed to be a Texan as well as a New Englander. But the people of Kennedunkport—the old-season coastal resort where Boh owns a vacation home built by his maternal grandfather—consider him one of their own. And now they expect that their little clapboard-and-shingle town will become the site of the summer White House, with all that implies in terms of time and profit. Still, after the campaign, comes the morning after, and as the neighbors were off last week, some of Boh's summer neighbors were beginning to question whether being a world power center for at least the next four years would really be a blessing. Confronting hundreds of public jobs to come, Chief John Prescott, head of the one-man local police force, said wryly, "I guess I'll be buying a lot of naps."

Kennedunkport, whose year-round population of 4,500 swells to 25,000 in the summer, has been a center for the wealthy since the turn of the century. A remote as claimed by its ornate Victorian clapboard hotels, manicured lawns and exclusive yacht club. In recent years, it has allowed the construction of motels and greatly expanded the range of its shops, but its one-sided growth has remained grateful to today's shorts as critics easily, so shopping trails out even a more Maine White House president's "broader gender America" in its campaign, Kennedunkport's substance is that of a tourist, whether one. And many entrepreneurs in town—where Boh has been a resident since childhood—seem to claim personal acquaintance with "George and Barbara," said 75-year-old Lucille Lendley. "I've known her since he was 16. He was just the son that say mother would want. He'll make a wonderful president."

But there seems little doubt that his manager Jose Daniels and well-attended

understatement, Boh's elevation to the presidency "is certainly going to bring change" to Kennedunkport. The secret service detail, which has been on hand over the eight years of the Bush vice-presidency, will become a much larger and more extensive year-round presence, especially when the Bushes are in town. And a massive White House media camp, descending wherever Boh is in residence, will descend wherever Boh is and subject the town to a harsh glare of publicity that set all its residents may appreciate.



Boh's house, Kennedunkport: hounded for invasions of bodyguards, reporters and curious tourists

There are also fears that the resort—which is an upscale that it has no public washrooms—may descend into the kind of crime commensurate it has so far resisted. But Susan Sevel, executive director of the local chamber of commerce, points out that the townpeople have a strong tradition of resistance to unbridled growth. "I don't think they'll allow it," she said. As for providing public washrooms, Sevel said, "We're working on that."

Still, some problems cannot be wished away. The main road into town—over a narrow bridge spanning the Kennedunk River—is already clogged with traffic in summer. In one 24-hour period last August, the police counted 18,000 cars crossing the bridge. "No matter what," said town manager Daniels, "we just can't handle more cars than this." Moreover, the local inhabitants are waiting to see whether Boh will honor a pledge he made last

summer not to let the secret service stop them from setting traps in the rich fishing grounds around Walker's Pond, where the Bush family compound is located. Some inhabitants seem skeptical, knowing that politicians do not always keep their promises—and that the secret service has sweeping powers to impose whatever measures its agents see fit to protect the President. "If they do impose a ban, they couldn't enforce it," said Johnathan Jonathan Reed. "Perhaps they'll offer us compensation instead. I know a lot of the guys would love to get a fish cheque and go fish somewhere else."

Local people say they also fear that the secret service might close or severely restrict traffic on the road that runs past the Bush compound—another measure that Boh has promised to oppose. "I don't want to accommodate the neophiles," he said last June. Gary Rosen, a sergeant in the local police force, said last week, "There will have to be

some changes to the traffic along that road—either one-way or no-way at all." And he expressed fears that Kennedunkport might become the scene of anti-Bush demonstrations, which could have violent results.

Clearly, Kennedunkport's problems will be considerably smaller than those that most perennial vacationers will confront in Washington. And in characteristic New England "can-do" spirit, the chamber of commerce's Sevel said, "You can either predict disaster or you can figure out how to turn the situation to the best advantage." Around the country, political pundits were interpreting Boh's victory as a reflection of the electorate's desire for things to stay much as they are. But for the people of the president-elect's summer place, things may never be the same again.

JOHN HEDMAN is in Kennedunkport

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partially funded by the federal, Ontario and municipal governments, chance to have interviewed more than 75 Somali torture victims since 1986. Many of them tell grisly tales of life as their homeland. One victim, a man in his 30s who, to protect his family, wished to be known only as Ali, said that he was detained without charge for six months in 1984. During that time, he said, he was kept in a cell less than 1.1 square feet, so small that it was impossible to sit. He was bound with ropes, he added, and his captors beat his wrists behind his knees and beat and kicked him on any occasion in the custody. Ali added that he was also taken to the sea, tied up in a sack and repeatedly submerged until he was on the point of drowning. Ali said that his father had also been a political prisoner and, after his release, had died of wounds received while in detention.



Somali refugees in Ethiopia: a human rights crisis

This was usually associated with sensory deprivation," he said. "In one case, this solitary confinement lasted six years."

One prominent member of Toronto's Somali

community is Ahsan Durr, 54, who became foreign minister in 1984. Four years after Somalia—formerly divided into British and Italian protectorates—won its independence, he fled the country in 1982 after successful political debacles and a new a three-line interpreter for the courts and Employment and Immigration Canada. "Once when [Durr] speaks, it will be difficult to restore our nation," said Danish. "He has destroyed the very fabric of Somali society, setting some to spy on their fathers and brothers to spy on brothers."

When Durr came seized power in a 1989 military coup, he aligned Somalia with the Soviet bloc. Moscow granted weapons for Somalia's war with Ethiopia, then a monarchy, over possession of the Ogaden region. The Soviets also

built up the Somali port of Berbera to an Italian Ocean naval base for their own use. But when a revolution in Ethiopia brought the Marxist Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam to power in 1977, relations with the Soviets changed dramatically. Moscow began supporting Mengistu, and Durr became a vocal opponent, warning the British facilities over to the Americans. Since then, Somalia has been a recipient of U.S. economic and military aid amounting to \$150 million a year in the mid-1980s. But that aid has decreased gradually since then, and this year, congressional aid both parties have suspended all help until there is a significant improvement in Somalia's human rights situation.

Part of the Somali refugees in Canada, that is a matter of urgency. But even more urgent is allowing help for their relatives in the camps in Ethiopia. Albert Alan Peters, African representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said strongly that his organization was caring for 335,000 Somalis in those camps in the Ogaden. There are even more refugees in remote areas, which the UN has been unable to reach. This year, Ethiopia has given \$2 million to the UNHCR to aid Somali refugees in Ethiopia. But critics such as Hajira Mohamed and her husband Saad, a French-educated economist and former UN official, contend that the Canadian government could help more by sending immigration officers to the camps and allowing those with families in Canada to migrate. "Our people are dying in the camps at the rate of 200 or more every day," said Saad. "Saad Mohamed has not hesitated to speak out against apartheid in South Africa. Why can't he speak out on Somalia, too?"

JERRY BERMAN

## HONG KONG HOLIDAY

香港



"THE CANARIES WERE A CHINESE OPERA UNTO THEMSELVES, AND THEY WERE TREATED LIKE PRIMA DONNAS."



"We were enchanted by old men taking their kang beds for walks. Their canaries were a Chinese opera unto themselves, and they were treated like prima donnas. Many of them even accompanied their owners to tea. Canaries are very popular pets in Hong Kong, so much so that on Hong Tai Street, that's all they sell!"

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## JUSTICE

# A secret indictment

*A Resistance hero faces war-crimes charges*

**A**s a hero of the French Resistance movement, which fought German occupation forces during the Second World War, Maurice Papon had a hard start in carving out a government career when the hostilities ended in the postwar years. He served as chief government administrator in two regions of France and was Paris police chief from 1956 to 1966. In 1968, he was elected to the National Assembly and went

families only learned of the indictment when they visited justice ministry officials in Paris about the case. Another of the lawyers involved, Max Insaure Serge Klarsfeld, said that there was enough evidence against Papon for the trial to begin in six months. But Klarsfeld said that government officials might try to delay the trial in the hope that Papon would die before going on trial.

So far, Papon has been remarkably successful in avoiding facing the charges. He was helped by the reputation he acquired for aiding the Resistance movement during the war years when he served as secretary general—the civilian official who was second in command—in the French region of the Gironde, which includes the city of Bordeaux, under German occupation at the time. Boudigues and others say that, during the same period, Papon signed documents ordering the deportation of 1,600 Jews. None of those allegedly deported by Papon survived the war.

The allegations first surfaced publicly in 1961 at the Paris-based satirical weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné*. At the time, Papon rejected the allegations. But Papon asked a commission of former Resistance fighters to look into the charges. Later that year, the commission concluded that Papon should have resigned rather than carry out the German deportation orders.

Papon was finally charged in 1983—and again in 1984. But both times, his lawyers launched an appeal court to quash the charges on technical grounds. Now, some critics of the French police system have said that the widespread refusal of French politicians to prosecute Papon depends ultimately on the government's wish to proceed and on public opinion. Now it remains to be seen how strong that will be.

**BARBARA WICKENS with JUNG JANSSEN in Paris**



*Papon and police officers connections in government*

on to become budget minister under President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing from 1975 to 1981. But concealed in Papon's past was a troubling secret: Last month lawyers representing the families of Jews who were deported during the war era learned that Papon, now 78, had been secretly indicted for his part in rounding up 1,600 Jews in the Bordeaux region and sending them to their deaths in Nazi camps between 1942 and 1944. Despite that report, it was unclear when—if ever—Papon will face trial. Lawyer Gérard Boudigues, who helped develop the case, charged last week that Papon is being protected because of his connections to French government circles. André Rouquier, "We must bring out the truth and we must make an example of Papon."

According to Boudigues, the indictment was delivered in July. But under French law, legal officials are not obliged to make charges public until they bring the accused to trial. As a result, Boudigues and other lawyers representing the



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# Space on Earth

The Soviets have taken huge leaps forward

On Nov. 26, a Soviet T-74 transporter is scheduled to head off from the Soviet Union's Sary-Lagan space center in Central Asia with two Soviet cosmonauts and a French cosmonaut aboard. In space, the crew members plan to link up with the Soviet's Mir space station, which has been orbiting Earth since 1990. The three men are expected to spend several weeks in orbit at the space station, acting up a prototype building module for future space platforms and carrying out scientific experiments. Moscow's Moscow Correspondent Andrey Wilton-Smith recently stated the Soviet has near Moscow where the cosmonauts trained for their mission. (His report)

As he entered a visitor stoppage at a full-size mockup of the Mir space station, Soviet Gen. Vladimir Stetsko, for showed all the enthusiasm of a salesman displaying a product to a prospective customer. "Over here, on the right," he said, "is where we can look additional modules with the main spacecraft. And here, in this section, we see the compartment where laboratory testing is carried out." Then, Stetsko, a former cosmonaut who is now director of the Soviet Star City space training complex, pointed out a sign. "AMH, such fine equipment such follows how nowadays," he said. "In my day, there was nothing to compare to this." Stetsko's confidence was understandable. It clearly bore out the opinions of many Western scientists that the Soviets have taken astounding leaps forward in space technology.

Star City, located in a heavily guarded rural area 35 km east of Moscow, provides a vivid example of the care and reverence the Soviets lavish upon the country's space program. Spread across 775 acres, the complex includes apartment blocks, a school for about 700 students, a large recreation center, a museum and buildings of various uses that are used for training and study facilities. The 3,500 permanent residents include many of the estimated 80 cosmonauts—generally all men—who the Soviet program, although 27 of them now live in a camp in Moscow. At Star City, families can shop at well-stocked stores, even in one of three miniature hotels or watch movies at a theater. Declared Stetsko: "Everything is designed so that while the cosmonaut is training, he need not leave."

Much of the cosmonauts' time at the complex is spent conducting drills under conditions designed to simulate life in outer space. In one exercise, cosmonauts in full space gear with oxygen tanks attached perform a variety of

mechanical repairs over a five-hour stretch on a space capsule that is submerged in 65 feet of water. By working underwater in uncertain light and frequently conducting repairs upside down, the cosmonauts come close to duplicating the effects of zero gravity in space. In another drill, conducted inside the mock-up of the Mir space station, cosmonauts work in 24-



Soviet crew: unmistakable confidence and a vivid example of care and reverence

hour shifts, conducting experiments and testing their reactions to problems that they may encounter in space.

Some of the most experienced cosmonauts do not always trust the preparations seriously. St. Irenus Kostikov, a physicist who is part of the medical team that tests the cosmonauts. "At times, they react like small children in the way they feel around." On the day that the African's landed the site with Stetsko—a rare example of the recent Soviet policy of glasnost, or openness—French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chrétien, a veteran of the first Soviet-French mission in 1987, was training for the next mission that is scheduled for Nov. 26. Chrétien, who was supposed to be sent to the Mir simulator for a 24-hour shift, suddenly opened the door of the craft, announced, "L'excusez-moi," and strode out. A smiling Stetsko said, "For those with experi-

ence, an occasional break is understandable." But despite such behavior, the cosmonauts clearly understand the importance of careful and lengthy preparation for their journey. Each task to be performed in space, said Stetsko, "is practiced here first, dozens, if not hundreds of times." The cosmonauts clearly know that planning. Said Alexander Alexandrov, a veteran of three missions: "When you are up there in space, there is no time to suddenly say, 'I forgot how this works!'"

The Star City complex also contains prominent reminders of the danger that is a constant part of each cosmonaut's work. In the Space Museum—one of the only areas open to the Soviet public—more than 86,000 people annually visit a three-story exhibit that includes tributes to six cosmonauts who died in the line of duty. The most prominent display is devoted to Yuri Gagarin, who in 1961 became

the first man in space and who died while troubleshooting an aircraft in 1968. Twenty years later, Gagarin remains an almost mythic figure to both cosmonauts and Soviets in general. At a memorial statue in his honor, visitors place an average of a dozen bouquets of flowers every day.

Despite their often hard-boiled public image, such emotion is typical of many cosmonauts. Said Stetsko, whose discussion with space began with the Jules Verne novel that he read as a boy: "All the responsibility I now have here, I would give up in a minute to go back up again." Said Alexandrov: "Once you have been in space, it is an experience you always want to repeat." At Star City, the site to go into space has many extremes—and no shortage of distractions.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is at Star City

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	PREFACE
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**T**here time get English hillbirds were not just to the top, and another was the five-strong electrical fence that they marauded across part of their 300-acre sheep farm near Totnescombe, N.S., 140 km north of Adelaide. After a decade of building up their flock, the pair had lost 100 birds in the last year. Margal Lawson lost 11 of their flock of 85 to coyotes last year. As a result, they were considering giving up their business unless they could find a new deterrent for the predators. "I was looking at all the different types of sheep in Cumberland and Patagonia and I read about the Australian sheepdog," says David Bernal Lawson. "We couldn't see ourselves condoning anyone who could find more lost resort." That last resort turned up in a pack of a 8600 dollars imported from Texas, where the dogs are used to protect the sheep from coyotes. The dogs—named Rosamunda after the fictional Dan Quistorp's famous maid—arrived last June. Since then, the couple have not lost a single sheep. "It's been a great success," says Bernal Lawson. "It's been a great success, but here."

Still, every night curious copiers continue to patrol the edges of the Lassens' property. But, Lassens says, Roseanne "thru by nature anything that looks like a dog." According to the farmer, the donkey is smart and less-expensive to maintain than trained sheep dogs—and her looks are lethal weapons. She attacks the coyotes when they approach the farm and, says Lassens, the "bunch at times so loud, you can hear her a mile away." With Roseanne's protection, the sheep no longer need to be herded toward the house at night. Declared Lassens: "They're safe out there now."

But these dense drawbacks to having a good past dole. Roemer's skills, of course, have extended to the family's terrors, and the annual will allow only Maugli Leaven to appreciate. Still, the cost is worth it to the Launers—and to two Puerto Rican sheep farmers who have since acquired or put in order for do-ings of their own. "At first, it startled the neighbors," said Berrel Lauen, 45, an actual bookishly speculator who came to Canada from West Germany in 1977. Now, he added, "the whole idea is catching on." And if the emperor's suit continues to be a success, the sound of the happy guests is likely to become music to beleaguered hosts' ears.

CLARENCE ALLISON is a graduate of the University of Michigan Law School.

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Johnson at workout last week: a judicial inquiry looks into drug use in sport

## SPORTS

# Ben's new challenges

*A fallen hero talks about life since Seoul*

For three days in September, he was in the spotlight of the world's fastest man, the hero of the Seoul Summer Olympics and the most celebrated athlete ever to compete for Canada. Then, news of a banned substance in his urine brought Ben Johnson's world crashing down. The International Amateur Athletics Federation struck down his world-record time of 9.79 seconds in the 100-m sprint, and the International Olympic Committee withdrew his gold medal. Canada's sport minister, Jean Charest, said that Johnson would never again race in Canada's uniform.

Last week, in an interview with *Maclean's*, Johnson stood by his earlier statement that he had not "intentionally" used steroids. He also spoke hopefully of soon competing once again against his archrival, Carl Lewis of the United States. "It's just a matter of time," Johnson said. "I think things are going to work out. But we don't know when or where yet."

Johnson's claim of innocence in the steroid allegations will move a step closer to being put to the test this week, when a judicial inquiry into the role of drugs in sport—and particularly in Johnson's championship performances—will

scheduled to begin hearings in Toronto. At issue is far more than Ben Johnson's guilt or innocence in the charge of using steroids. When Charest announced the inquiry under Ontario Associate Chief Justice Charles Dubin last month, he gave it a sweeping mandate to restore "the integrity of sport in Canada."

This week's hearings will be largely procedural. Dubin will consider applications from lawyers representing Johnson, the runner's coach, Charles Finnie, and others for the right to cross-examine witnesses and present arguments during the inquiry. But Dubin gladly intends to pursue his inquiry wherever it leads. He has hired four medical specialists and a private detective, as well as a commission lawyer to assist him.

Although Finnie has remained publicly silent since he returned from Seoul on Sept. 27, friends of the 39-year-old coach say that he has been gathering evidence to support his claim that Johnson was the unwitting victim of a "delicate manipulation of the doping process." The runner's personal physician, Dr. George Arzopias, and his physiotherapist, Waldemar Natuszewski, have also both de-

clared that they did not administer steroids to Johnson.

Other witnesses likely to appear before the inquiry could present conflicting evidence. Earlier this month, *The Toronto Star* quoted Canadian women's 100-m champion Angella Isaacs, who trained with Johnson under Finnie's direction, as saying: "I'm fed up with the hell Ben takes steroids. I take steroids." And in an interview last month with *Maclean's*, Houston-based Lewis declared his hopes to witness those steroids. He said that she would speak openly at the inquiry. Said Isaacs: "If I am asked specifically, I will say yes or no. I don't look forward to that because I don't want to testify against people who have been good to me."

On the eve of the inquiry's opening, Johnson appeared to be relaxed and cheerful as he resumed training last week at Toronto's York University. Commenting on reports of a possible high-stakes race against Lewis in the near future, Johnson said: "I'd just decide to compete. I don't see why not. The public would like to see us run again." Lewis, who placed second behind Johnson in the 100-m event in Seoul, collected the gold medal after Johnson's disqualification. However, track-and-field experts noted that Lewis himself could make disqualification games from the U.S. track-and-field authorities if he ran against Johnson while the Canadian runner was under suspension.

For his part, Johnson said that he was not upset over recent events in his life, including criminal charges laid Oct. 13 after he allegedly pointed a starter's pistol at another runner. "I feel perfectly good," said Johnson. "Life goes on." He also indicated that his finances had not been seriously affected by the cancellation of some commercial endorsement contracts following his disqualification and his inability to run competitively. "I just play it by the day and month. It affects me a little bit," he said, "but not so much so some people think."

Echoes of Johnson's fall have already reverberated widely through the tight-knit Canadian track world. Isaacs—who is among field's finest Toronto-based athletes—was associated with Finnie and whose training schedule following the Seoul Games—originally set to resume on Nov. 1—has been thrown into disarray by the coach's at-fault suspension. The likelihood that several top-level athletes will be called to testify at the inquiry led corporate sponsors late last month to cancel one of the centrepiece track meets of the Canadian winter season—an indoor event normally held in Toronto in January or February. And the sale of advertising in the country's top national track magazine, the Toronto-based *Athletics*, which is published next time a year, has already dropped off. Said publisher Carl Senik: "Even though 80 per cent of us have nothing to do with drugs, 100 per cent of us are tainted." Sadly, the state of the steroid scandal is more likely to deepen than it is to be resolved under the painstaking scrutiny of the Dubin inquiry.

CHRIS WOOD

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## HISTORY

# Counting the 'kills'

*New claims about the Great War's top gun*

For 76 years, students of the First World War have been taught that Manfred von Richthofen, Germany's famed "Red Baron," was the most deadly fighter pilot of his time. Richthofen shot down 80 enemy aircraft in his famed red Fokker triplane—before being gunned down himself in 1918. Now a British researcher has concluded that Richthofen may not have been the top gun after all. Instead, the honor may belong to Canadian, Newsmen, B.C.-born Raymond Collishaw. After collecting copies of Collishaw's combat records from around the world, researcher Timothy Graves concluded that Collishaw may have downed as many as 85 German planes. That would put him well in front of another Canadian fighter ace, the renowned William Avery (Billy) Bishop. Until now, Collishaw has been largely overlooked by military historians. Said Graves: "He really deserved more credit."

Graves, a 37-year-old civilian administrator for the Royal Navy and an amateur military historian, published his findings in the November issue of the British magazine *World War II Investigator*, a new monthly military history magazine. In the official records, Collishaw is credited with downing 60 enemy planes, compared with 73 for Bishop and 73 for Edward Manoeck, who has been widely accepted as the top British ace of the First World War. But Graves says that Collishaw may not have received credit for all his so-called kills because of rivalry between the two British air services that operated independently for most of the war. Collishaw flew with the Royal Naval Air Service, while Bishop was a pilot with the Royal Flying Corps. Before the two services were amalgamated into the Royal Air Force (RAF) in 1918, writes Graves, aerial flyers frequently

got less official credit than flying ace pilots. As a result, he says, Bishop was credited with 73 kills even though only 13 of his claimed victories were witnessed by other pilots, compared with 68 for Collishaw that were witnessed. If both pilots were credited with all the victories that they claimed, writes Graves, Collishaw's score would be 81.5, while Bishop's would be 74.5.

Graves's conclusions are likely to reignite a long-running controversy. Supporters of Bishop, who died in 1966, few in his defense in 1962 when a Natural Film Board production, *The Red Baron*, questioned aspects of his war record. In a book published last month entitled *Billy Bishop: Canadian Hero*, author Don McCaffery defends the Bishop legend. After studying Bishop's logbook, British records and German newspaper files, McCaffery credits Bishop with 75 confirmed and three unconfirmed victories.

For his part, Graves says that he did not want to detract from Bishop's achievements—only to do justice to Collishaw, who rose to the rank of air vice-marshal in the air during the Second World War. Collishaw died in Vancouver in 1976 at the age of 83. But the debate over his ranking among ace aces will probably never be settled. Combat records from the First World War were not only unreliable, and some historians say that it is futile to try to establish exactly how many planes a pilot shot down. Said Air Commodore Henry Probert, head of Britain's air historical branch: "The main thing is that at the end of the day, we won the bloody war." In the meantime, Graves's research has focused attention on a Canadian hero whose achievements have long been overlooked.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London



Collishaw in 1941: overlooked

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# Perception, reality and politics

BY GEORGE BAIN

The idea is not really new. Even when new, it clearly was more clever than profound. And it doesn't accord well with what journalists are supposed to be about. So why are we hearing on all sides about "perceptions" and, in tones of wisdom, that "in politics the perception is the reality"?

For example—just one—the first appearance of Peter Gosselin's resident troupe of political experts after the two television debates was laden with references to "perceptions." People, it seems, no longer think, believe, understand, accept, reject, comprehend, suspect—they "have perceptions." Don Newman, the senior parliamentary editor for the *Telegraph* in Ottawa, was particularly insistent on the point that in politics, perceptions are what count.

As perception in this usage appears to have no necessary association with thought, the appropriate definitions of the term, presumably are (a) "misdirection or misactive recognition, as in fraud or extortion" and (b) "a single unanalysed awareness derived from sensory processes while a stimulus is present." True, moral and esthetic qualities are not what one looks for first in political campaigns, but the process of acquiring perceptions attentively, sensitively, and in follow-up actually that the process is sensory and not intellectual.

If politicians want to accept perceptively, okay, although the idea of completely sensory politics is not attractive. But the proposition is at least understandable in a political context. What the phrase means, or appears to mean, is that what people think is the truth is the truth, whether it is or isn't. If they then go out and make their battles on the basis of what they think, that's that. The result is achieved that what makes that hard to accept is that it wrings principle out of the process absolutely. A good, well-fed lie becomes not simply as good as a badly told truth, but better.

What should make any journalist shy is to think that the proposition would come to dominate political reporting. Recently, in a book

*The dramatic turn in the campaign had nothing to do with any new issue or any change that occurred to an existing one*

review in *The Spectator*, I came across a quotation from an essay by Nassim Taleb—acknowledging not having read anything by Chomsky—that said, "It is the responsibility of intellectuals to speak the truth and expose lies."

One approaches the question of journalists as intellectuals with caution. Shortly after the Second World War, Charles Sumner, a Toronto alderman and a Communist, who may or may not have been in use as a prospective convert, once told me—apropos goodness knows what—that I was an intellectual. I said, "Thank you very much." And he replied, as plain exasperation at my naivety, that no comment was intended. He was simply identifying me by my station in society. I didn't become a Communist, not because of that, but because the official history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which he had passed on me as an introductory course, put me to sleep—what, come to think of it, perhaps made his point that I was an intellectual only by Marxist disposition.

But what sort of intellectuals Chomsky was assigning responsibilities to—whether defined by richness of mind or merely class—I will be necessary to read the essay to try to deter-

mine. However, if a journalist's creed were being drawn up, the line, with minor amendments, would be worth stating: "It is the responsibility of journalists to speak the truth (or as much of it as we can find out) and expose lies (without prejudice)." One trouble with the proposition that the perception is the reality is that it is an acceptance doctrine which suggests that further search for facts on whatever is at issue becomes a pointless exercise since the public perception has been arrived at.

Another trouble with it is that the process by which the perception is arrived at is usually opaque. What emerged from the Gosselin discussion (perception, mind) was that if it did matter who had won the debate by any rational process of analysis of points made or rebutted, assuming a rational process of analysis existed. What counted had nothing to do with content, but only the public's perception—"derived from sensory processes while a stimulus was present"—of the winner.

However, the stimulus in all such recommendations comes not just from the television screen but from what the media people writing and commenting on the event have told them about it. And, for the first telling, these reporters will have cast themselves as the role of viewers, in effect gathering their own perceptions in order to pass them on to readers and listeners, whose own perceptions will then be influenced by them. It remains only for the politicians to make their appeals of these perceived public reactions for them to become the reality on which the whole of an election campaign may turn.

The dramatic turn in the current campaign, deeper than any within memory, had nothing to do with any new issue that had been introduced or any change that occurred affecting an existing one. But within days of the debate, the pollsters were reporting the Liberals up. Tories down, support for free trade down and the campaign redoubled one issue (free trade), one substance (harm to social programs) and one sub-substance (undermining of medicine in particular).

All of that can be attributed to John Turner's having made a strong performance—and necessarily in the face of his opponents but the force with which they were presented—and the reality is that the course of the campaign has been changed, and perhaps the outcome. It is a reality that has been accepted happily by media people because it has made the campaign more exciting.

The question, again, is whether the perception-is-the-reality idea ought not to be left to the politicians. Is it a trap—the reality—that medicine and other social programs really are undermined? It might not be possible to find out, if not beyond a doubt, beyond much doubt, from discussions freely available—the free trade agreement itself, international trade law as defined by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, U.S. trade law. So far as can be seen, the end for the search beyond the perceived reality is not so great as the end for the horse race, in which the continuing uncertainty over a point of public concern with a certain flip



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## ESSAY

# SOMETIMES A GREAT NATION

## WILL CANADA BELONG TO THE 21ST CENTURY?

*Starting with Place of Power (1989), Peter C. Newman, Maclean's columnist and the news magazine's first editor, has written 12 books. His latest is Sometimes a Great Nation: Will Canada Belong to the 21st Century? to be published on Nov. 19 by McClelland and Stewart Ltd. In his introduction, Newman examines Canada's relationship with the United States and discusses the implications of free trade for Canada's future.*

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**F**ree trade's greatest benefits have already been achieved. In the process of debating what we might have to surrender, Canadians discovered what we already have.

That election issue of those next elections in Canadian history when we can cease the cowardly of an age being cut. What comes next will be different from what came before. We may be due for one of those turning points that compare perspectives, redistribute regional allegiances and lead nations to political decisions.

It has been the combined effect of three Mulroney's economic free trade initiative plus the Minkit Lake accord that triggered the sea change. Such trends represent nothing less than a rewriting of the social contract between Canadians and their government. We have no choice about accepting what America's column Newman Meier suggests "the law of life, as cruel and as just, that we must grow or else pay more for maintaining the same."

Ever since the party leaders' notorious debate, which most clearly set out the very different Canadian futures envisaged by Brian Mulroney, John Turner and Ed Broadbent, the 1988 campaign has been turned into a referendum on free trade. This has persuaded all those leaders to follow one another here and there in what may well be the most content for leaders ever waged in this country.

The problem with free trade as an election issue is that its benefits are diverse, its costs are localized. The advantages of the U.S.-Can-

ada agreement are long-term and difficult to pinpoint: avoiding such collective goods as higher national productivity and greater access to larger markets. But the potential harm of the trade treaty is easier to argue, much more dramatic at its short-term aspects, both real and imagined.

The proposed U.S.-Canada agreement has triggered so much fear and very no-Canadian reaction because, without any of the politicians planning it that way, free trade has become a class issue. The Progressive Conservatives, whose last great leader, John Diefenbaker, spoke a long and passionate lecture lighting Bay Street, now find themselves the unwilling champions of the business community, which most clearly perceives free trade as a historical imperative. The Liberals, once the party of C. D. Howe and the whole most Canada businessmen once chose as their political home, have become bitterly anti-business. (This is particularly true because before he went back into politics, John Turner sat on the boards of some of the country's most powerful corporations, drawing assets worth \$15 billion.)

Whether or not it actually happens, the technological deficit from free trade has already taken hold, allowing us to appreciate the contrast between what we've been able to preserve in the northern half of North America, and what others have lost. Inevitably, but in a very real way, the very idea of free trade has allowed us to protect our cultural mentality, preserving ourselves for the first time in



trains of our own rather than imported values.

No one has to yet articulated precisely how the prevailing mood is changing, but, as if by prearranged signal, many Canadians have become fed up with the inflexibility that have held our peoples so firmly captive in the recent past. Not since freer days has there been such a surge of self reliance, such a determination by individuals of all ages, both sexes and most circumstances to shake out on their own and exercise more control over their lives. Most of us feel vibrantly alive, voices humming with adrenaline as we begin to assert ourselves. At the same time, the traditional sources of authority are losing their clout: How can we build on one, for example, the church and family, where we once deposited our anxiety and our resources when they have not to have control of our hard-earned savings in such grounded lighters as fiscal and dollar?

One summons a puffy culture, pretty yet genteel, but the new generation coming into power is full of pragmatism and getting things done. These new-style Canadians no longer believe, as did their covering predecessors, that history has to be made across the air: that latitudes across and knee-high must only beyond our borders, or that the best we can manage best is a pain machine.

At what remains a subconscious level, Canadians have begun to realize their traditional self-doubts and instead of searching for a national identity, are putting into practice their separate ones. At the same time, we have realized that the American experience we once so revered cannot be wanted by a country that issues up a succession of such script-on-leaders as Richard Nixon, Gerald R. Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan and George Bush. We're no longer fools. We can see in our country—and not in theirs—the continued possibility of evading our true potential. Comparing ourselves with other nations is a cry now to see how attractive, egotistical and relatively guide our society still is and how full of promise is our future. We are a people with little talent for excess. Most of us would rather be Clark Kent than Superman. Our cities remain states of relative civility on a continent where most urban areas are armed camps.

Living next to the United States has been reminiscent of an old-fashioned marriage, with the husband insisting, "If you do exactly what I want, don't, we'll have a really good time." Or, to switch metaphors, the American shake-out of if they think of us at all is to be in their museum. Atoms tried to be active in the gated storage spaces somewhere up there, occasionally essential but a topic all concern only if they are the source of strange rumors or cold deaths. Should free trade be implemented, we will be moving down from the attic into the living room, or at least into two partners. The good reason to be very nervous. We'll find ourselves thrown into the much laughter world of the international marketplace, having to make our way through Darwinian swarms of unbridled competition where survival at the bottom and the barrel is all that counts.

The problem with having the United States



James Bay power project: Americans thank us as an ally in their mission

is a neighbor is that it's a nation whose national imperialism is an all-pervasive force of nature. "It envelops us as a mist, permeating every sphere of our cultural, political, economic and social environment," according to Viscount of Toronto political economist Alexander Rossini. "For that very reason we need

is a great reminder the case of all mankind." Senator Kenneth Wherry asked up the authors when he charged to his Nebraska floor: "With God's help, we will let Shanghai up and go over until it's just like Kansas City."

The independence war is the context in which we are planning to enter a free trade area with the Americas. The prospect of being part of a free-trade-bloc economy stretching from the North Pole to the Rio Grande is alluring. But the risks are enormous. In the past, we could afford the luxury of not having to choose between our allies and ourselves: In the major pull of the American Dream on the basis of economic, consider alone. We were the resource storehouse to the free world and everyone would want what we had. That is no longer true and equally important, all of the other major industrial countries are joining or have joined trading blocs that will give their domestic manufacturers access to markets of a hundred million people or more. By 1990, Western Europe expects to be so thoroughly integrated that it will be using a common currency.

For Canadians to reject the free trade pact strictly on the grounds of its industrial threat to Canadian sovereignty is too simplistic. The alternative—trying to preserve a vanishing status quo—could be even worse.

What factors are most about the free trade deal—apart from its cultural dimensions—its energy aspect. U.S. energy experts predict that declining domestic production will raise America's current 25- to 28-per-cent dependence on petroleum imports to 50 to 60 per cent by 1995. Philip Verleger Jr. of Washington Institute for International Economics estimates that the value of U.S. petroleum exports will rise to \$130 billion by 1995, over \$44 billion in 1985. Access to Canadian energy sources—look back out of barrels—would



Murray Madness of Newbrook Farm

to feel powerless, unwilling and unable to achieve the perspective necessary for an appraisal of our situation. It sometimes seems as important to ask what should be done about the Americanization of this country as it is to ask what should be done about the weather.

In confronting the United States, we must accept the proposition that we are dealing with what Arnold Toynbee called the American Empire, a testament reflected in her book in 1974 as Thomas Paine's dictum "The cause of America

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fuel the American industrial machine for the foreseeable future.

Even when we start to run out of our own oil, under the terms of the 1961, Canada must provide "proportional access to the fossil-fuel supply" without price discrimination. Our energy exports would not, of course, be limited to oil. The main reason Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa supports free trade is that it would allow him to sell immediately \$3 billion worth of Muskrat Falls and James Bay power to New England over 30 years. Previously such an arrangement was blocked by Ottawa's National Energy Board in June, 1986.

Economic sense between the two countries would dismantle the tariffs that still encumber the \$160 billion in annual trade across the U.S.-Canadian border, giving our manufacturers access to a quiescent jump on potential customers. At the same time, American factories would be sweeping our domestic markets with their output, taking advantage of the built-in price differential of their longer production runs. More seriously, human industrial expansion would almost certainly take place south of the 49th parallel because the four main factors that go into deciding where to produce are easy—climate, social service costs, proximity of market and cost of labor—would cluster near U.S. locations.

But there is ample reason to have confidence in our ability to compete. Since 1984 we have consistently led the industrialized world in job creation and, with adjustment for the purchasing power of resources, Canada achieved the second highest per-capita income of any major economy, ahead of both Japan and West Germany. Manufactured goods currently amount to more than two-thirds of our exports, and we have become a serious source of multinational investment capital. Despite soft commodity prices, our gross national product has during the past half decade equaled or better that of any other country. The most recent edition of *Forbes's* "Internation 500" includes 28 Canadian companies (the fourth-highest total) as the last. We have grown fully competitive with American industry, ranking up an \$83-billion surplus on merchandise trade in the past four years. "Canadians have little to feel inferior about," Toronto publishing tycoon Conrad Black bragged in his last *Globe and Mail* column. "This is a great country capable of competing with Americans or anyone else. Precisely those who are acute antagonistic and contemptuous towards the United States are those who would perpetuate an erroneous line of that country and a very self-image of this one."

What if Conrad Black is right?

The free trade initiative—if we take it up—will require a drastic reevaluation of the traditional Canadian personality. We have always displayed a distinct aversion to individualism, believing profoundly in the notion that endless toil is not just a safe course between extremes, but a secular mandate on how to conduct one's life. Historically, deference to authority has been our prevailing ethic—an orderly attitude, rooted in collective survival rather than individual excellence colored what more people did



Boatcher: the Americans will 'do everything to win'

and, especially, didn't do it. It stressed life's somber virtues—the notion that there is nothing more satisfying than a hard day's work well done, that the goal was always extra more than has kept in domestic contrast to the individualism of the United States. The idea was to be careful, to be plainly dressed, quiet-spoken and, above all, close with one's money.

You could immediately spot a Canadian at any gathering, he or she was the one who consistently chose the most uncomfortable chair. It was all part of our cultural affinity for discomfort and self-denial. We learned to excel in making the worst of bad situations, underestimating our individual and collective worth, living not past Duke Breen's dire diagnosis of Canada as "a high-school kid, frozen at its adolescence." Fearing disorder more than aggression, we debilitated our self-interest and patronized the

revolutionaries we did not loathe, the risk we failed to take, the acts of daring we managed to avoid. We became then Quakers in parkas staging a ripple blues.

Our prevailing attitude was all too reminiscent of the story about two just men who once approached Duke Ellington in the street, rapidly aware he was a musical great, but not certain which one.

"Hey, man," one of them demanded, "ain't you the Duke?"

"Buddy," was the reply.

"The whosoever you want me to be."

All too often, we were who and what outsiders wanted us to be in allowing foreign aspirations to define indigenous goals. We became reflexive of a country for others to build their dreams on. Betsy Jones complained about "the complex facts of being an American." Being a Canadian was simple, deference was our moral obligation, preservation our national posture. (We even practiced diplomacy with important overseas while Revenue Canada estimated that billions of dollars in federal revenues had gone unreported through deliberate tax evasion. Ottawa also revealed that 81 per cent of time fraudulent returns were filed exactly on time.)

The quintessential Canadian statesman of this colonial period was Mackenzie King, who ruled us longer than a queen did, led the real life of a great, never took a political chance and

on a 1943 visit to his good friend John D. Rockefeller Jr., was so fascinated that he took along an spare shoelaces.

The most successful politician in our history resembled a bald Queen Victoria and for recreation talked to spoonies, the neoclassical painter Howard Chandler Christy once remarked. More recently, Olympic speed skater Gosse Guenier explained why he competed as the American, not the Canadian, way. "The attitude [was] Canadians have is not really right," said he. "They come to you and ask 'You want to win, eh? Well, that's not too hard.' But if it is, compare that with the American. They do everything to win, not to finish 10th."

Unable to figure out whether we were the least of the great powers or the greatest

Black: 'We have little to feel inferior about'



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## ESSAY

of the union powers, we decided, in the tangy atmosphere of the Second World War, to become something we called a "middle power." We set contingents of peacemaking soldiers into trouble spots where they would be shot at, wounded and maimed but not permitted to return fire or retaliate in any way. It was perfect casting. Out of that dazzling display of defense gave our experience to much-class-bill boys. In fact, for one thing, that Canadian propensity became an invaluable experience having one immediately identified us better as humans. Several of the most senior Soviet spy masters (including such well-known players as Robert Solov, Col. Rudolf Abel and Gordon Lonsdale, who obtained the plans of Britain's nuclear submarine) operated in Canadian ports. (Old Ronson, executive vice-president for security and intelligence at Gordian Lobby & Associates, the Maine firm that supplies mercenaries to various industrial groups once confessed: "I always travel wearing a red maple leaf pin in my lapel. Nobody hates the Canadians.")

Traveling never became our national sport; we loved poking fun at ourselves.

"Why does a haircut in Canada cost \$80?"

"Two bucks for each corner."

The music critic Larry Le Blac described the most popular Canadian singer of the day with the quip: "If you close your eyes and think of a naked Anne Murray, parts of her always come up unobscured." People magazine dismissed the songstress as "coming across like a Madonna of Stonybrook Farm."

The one indisputably great aspect of this country is its size, and the most astounding aspect of its history has been its survival exposed as that enormous bank of geography. Few land masses of such enormous dimensions can withstand the lessons of democracy. The stresses and strains of stretching the rule of law across 86 degrees of longitude and 43 degrees of latitude virtually guarantee multi-crank weird government. Even though most Canadians think the Presidency should be a herb control device, omniscient authority flailing so far to our northern turf remains our strongest sustaining myth. We happily give away our energy sources and minerals at rock-bottom prices and sell off the most profitable parts of our secondary manufacturing sector. But let a New England drop of oil on our water or cut through our Northwest Passage, and we go apoplectic. There's why Arctic sovereignty, fishing rights and seal roe for, last that matter, Quebec separation, which was greeted by most of the Canadians as a threat to the physical continuity of our reach from sea to sea, have become such hot issues.

If several of the most notable contemporary scholars—see, Margaret Atwood and others have claimed, so be it. Surveys are the worst in almost any game. Toronto's scandalous broadcaster Harry J. Boyle led a cable show he named "The South's Cheapest Intellectuals" that comes from having a surname. And we have survived with dignity, if not with joy.

Becoming a Canadian never required conversions to a living faith, or even a subtle sense we had no distinctive flag during the first

90 years of our contract. Founded on individual allegiances instead of social compact, Canada's national proceeded so slowly that it took 36 years after Confederation in 1867 for the other provinces to join—except Newfoundland, of course, which waited another half century just to be sure.

Becoming an officially recognized Canadian doesn't exist, we can laugh about our country and where it at the same time. It's such a mood of reverence that sets us apart from citizens of the United States, where the American Dream continues to circumscribe its true believers and belated its adherents. The distinction between the American nothing pot and the Canadian nothing remains our single most

some center of gravity either east or westward to the Pacific Basin. Whether Canada will belong to the 21st century is the real question. Looking back over the last few years, it seems to me that we finally are growing up.

The moralist's dream of that peaceful adulthood is that no step along ourselves who we see. We may lack a hegemonic purpose, but our nationality never because Canada exists. It is the same ancient name described to me by Will Ruddy, a Welsh poet and novelist who was chief librarian at Humber's McMaster University. "Ruddy's vision of my mind like a ball in an undergrowth belly. I am of Wales, and everything I write and dream about is framed in that Welsh context."



Ontario's financial refinery: a nation that the good cause never more than his keep.

important national characteristic: Here, most of us—as the country's leading races, plus the Europeans, Asians, West Indians—arrived trading our own risks, even finally transplanted into little new ground. What makes Canada so special is the unwritten compact that history will not be contained (except in every national park) and that instead of showing us mother, we can almost always talk out our problems and sometimes even our prejudices. It's the real that we never lose hold of this fragile but essential quality that everyone is permitted to live and let live, allowed to curse the politician while leaving the land, to debate endlessly the meaning of our national existence while living it day by day.

There are no magical windows through which to proclaim the future. The Lerner prediction that the 20th century would belong to Canada never did come true, because we behaved during most of it as if we still belonged to the 19th. The next century will not belong to any nation east of Texas, as the world's ever-

A variation on this theme was the testimony of Dr. J. H. McManis, former minister of development for Prince Edward Island, before a 1977 committee about regional development and identity. "Certainly on the Maritimes," he said, "there has been no loss of identity. We're very sure of that. In Prince Edward Island, if anybody ever said he was alienated, I would say: 'You are not alienated. I can tell you exactly who you are: you are the descendant son of your Aunt Mary.'"

That's it. One by one, we can create the man of our national destiny. Canada is a collection of 26 million characters in search of an author.

After looking for more than a century that being Canadian was a journey rather than a destination we have arrived at last. We have witnessed a state of delirious grace which allows us to appreciate that what's important is not so much where we are but that we are—that sometimes a large nation can become a great one.

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## ARCHITECTURE

# A tropical condo

*A luxury building to defy Montreal winters*

Just as the ice age left its mark on global geography, the polar chill that descends every winter in Montreal has helped to shape the city's lifestyle and architecture. Every November, shoppers in the city begin their quest into the network of underground malls that radiate beneath the city's downtown core, while others plot their meander to winter retreats in Florida and the Caribbean. Indeed, the city's long and bitterly cold winters have inspired former Montreal mayor Jean Drapeau to discuss publicly about enclosing the entire city in a dome. Although Drapeau's vision remains a futuristic dream, an unlikely Montreal real estate developer has succeeded in partly transforming the concept into reality. At Tropics North, a 130-unit condominium building on the Montreal waterfront, luxurious apartments overlook a Hawaiian gar-

dened lagoon enclosed in a 12-story atrium, creating a lush and verdant environment in even the harshest season.

Unveiled in September by businessman Jean de Brabant as part of a bond-raising benefit for the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, the \$40.5-million project has created high interest among the city's property developers and buyers in its near completion. On a recent Sunday about 300 visitors went to see the building. De Brabant also showed former prime minister Pierre Trudeau around. Many of them were curious to see the building's indoor waterfall and palm trees, one of which stands five stories high. But while some Montrealers praise the building as ecologically original, others denounce Tropics North as gimmicky and pretentious. Said Rod Lajoie, a local developer: "A lot of people are talking

inside the atrium at Tropics North, amazed at a decidedly upscale market.

about it. It is definitely controversial."

No one is aware prepared to contest the project thus far. De Brabant, a 50-year-old Montrealer who spent his youth in 12 years ago to design and construct real estate projects. The husband of Brabant has been practicing the idea of a residential development looking onto a huge atrium for close to a decade. Now, he lives in one of the building's most expensive three-bedrooms, 4,644 square-foot apartments (which cost over \$1 million) and is making up the 40-unit center a marketplace while doing an in-house. De Brabant: "I always believed the idea made sense."

Tropics North isn't anything but common. Built on a narrow plot of land adjacent to a restaurant park in Montreal's downtown harbor, the L-shaped complex gives its residents a panoramic view over a 34,000-square-foot tropical island park that contains about 100 palm trees, 10,000 other plants, a lay pool and a stream, as well as a 50-foot-long Japanese-style swimming pool. With apartment prices beginning at \$275,000 for a one-bedroom unit and equally staggeringly high from \$500 to \$600—the project is rated as a decidedly upscale market. Said de Brabant: "If you want someone plants in your backyard in January, you have to pay the price. This is the

first building of its kind."

It took de Brabant eight years to convince investors that his proposal was practical.

De Brabant himself acknowledges that the building is a bold venture on an old theme—the glass-enclosed winter garden of Victorian mansions. Moreover, John and Jean, in translating de Brabant's ideas into reality, he was concerned not only with architectural style but with the functional challenge of integrating the greenhouse and apartment block. "We had to play it safe," said John. "The main thing was making sure the building would work."

One of the most important features of the project is the atrium's heating and air conditioning system, which will cost an estimated \$250,000 a year to operate. The system is designed in the same principle as a car's standard defroster to prevent condensation

Within a month, de Brabant had brought preconstruction sales to \$5 million. He said that at one point he had to turn out a third mortgage on his former home in downtown Montreal to keep the project alive. Eventually, he forced a partnership with an unlikely ally, Rod Pomeroy, a 40-year-old papermaker from Quebec. Pomeroy, who started his working life as a taxi driver. "I was looking for some excitement," said de Brabant. Added Pomeroy: "Everyone else thought it was too risky. I wanted to be a pioneer."

The initial skepticism about his concept is tempered by Brabant's determination to succeed. In 1988, he hired Tracy and Gault, a firm of Montreal architects, which assigned a young architect, John Sato, to design the residential building. De Brabant recruited Florida-based Herbert Rumsen, former director of landscape architecture at Disney World in Orlando, Fla., and Donaldson in Anaheim, Calif., to lay out Tropics North's large indoor garden. Rumsen responded by sculpting a mini-park that includes huge fountains of synthetic rock supported from steel beams and trees striking in the exotic splendor of flowers in the stream, which include hibiscus, bougainvillea and cactuses. Indeed, when William Clough, an executive with a Montreal company firm, first saw the atrium, he expressed amazement at the full-grown hibiscus trees planted next to the garden's walkways. Said Clough, who bought a three-bedroom Tropics North apartment a year ago: "It's beyond what I imagined. They did not cost you any money to do the plants."

Said some members of the Montreal real-estate community remain critical of Tropics North. The new building is located at Café de la Mer, the former site of Montreal's Expo 67, next to one of the city's historic landmarks, Habitat, architect Moshe Safdie's widely praised prototype of modular housing construction Bruce Anderson, the director of

McGill University's architecture department, dismisses Tropics North as a gimmicky development. He added: "It isn't even that it is worth talking about. It is not architecture."

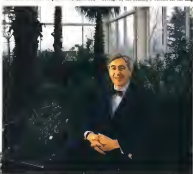
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One of the most important features of the project is the atrium's heating and air conditioning system, which will cost an estimated \$250,000 a year to operate. The system is designed in the same principle as a car's standard defroster to prevent condensation

streams. But I am convinced the thing is manageable."

Real estate experts say that the ultimate judgment on Tropics North will be made by condominium buyers during the next six months. A growing oversupply of luxury condos in the Montreal housing market could make it difficult for de Brabant to sell his remaining units. And some critics say that Tropics North could fail if the country of a year-round tropical setting wears off. Lajoie says: "Rumsen, for one, says he doubts that it will happen. I can't escape except ever living in a large program plan. Moving all around."

For his part, de Brabant says that his project could mark the beginning of a new trend in residential construction. Canadian, and especially the elderly, he says, have been held hostage by the country's winters for too long.



De Brabant: creating a lush and verdant environment in the harshest season.

from focusing on the inside of the atrium's glass during the winter. Although some skeptics doubt that the palm trees and tropical plants can survive in the artificial environment, de Brabant is slowly winning converts to his dream project. So far, he says that he has sold about 50 per cent of the building's units. Buyers have included such prominent Quebecers as Dominique Marché, who played a history teacher in *The Decline of the American Empire*, a movie about a group of Quebec intellectuals and their sexual escapades, and ballet dancer Serge Laprade, along with well-known professionals and business executives. Said Robert Leach, a vice-president of Pratt & Whitney of Canada Inc., who bought a two-bedroom apartment at Tropics North: "I made inquiries about obvious concerns like heat-

Tropics North offers what he says is a revolutionary compromise with the country's harsh climate. "I would like to think of myself as an inventor," said de Brabant. "Some day, a significant number of Canadians will live in buildings like this." If Tropics North is a success, de Brabant says that he hopes to build two more condominiums, each with its own atrium, on seven acres of land next to the existing building. In the more distant future, de Brabant dreams of developing more buildings like Tropics North elsewhere in Canada and the northern United States. But that is only a dream as he struggles to find buyers for the remaining apartments in his opulent and unusual building.

DAN BURKE in Montreal

## WORKING AT LOVE ON THE JOB

Women in the market for a spouse should look no one around the office, advises romance expert Margaret Kant in her new book, *Love At Work*. Kant, 46, says that the workplace is ideal for husband-hunting because potential mates already know each other's work habits, levels of intelligence and approximate earnings. But adds the Miami-based author, who co-wrote the book with her husband of three years, courting in the office requires strategy. Cautions Kant: "You just can't say, 'Hi, your desk or mine?'"



De Vasconcelos says offers of work

## Child care

For actress and mother of two grown sons, Audrey Hepburn, other people's children have become a full-time concern. That special interest in the young will bring the Oscar-winning star to a Vancouver stage on Nov. 23 to read from *Witness-to-Fool*. "It's going to be wonderful," says Hepburn. "Fool" is a personal favorite of mine. More importantly, Hepburn adds, the concept is a fund-raiser for UNICEF, the international children's aid organization she serves as special ambassador. Since March, when the 50-year-old actress accepted the honorary position, she says, that she has spent almost all her time away from her home outside Geneva visiting the organization's aid projects in the developing world and attending special events on behalf of the charity. Says Hepburn: "I've been living on planes, but it's very important to see what is needed and to do whatever I can to help some money for suffering children."



Hepburn: special ambassador

## A PLAYFUL TRAMP

Five Robin Williams, acting in a classic play about the tragedy of life in the nuclear age, has some musically funny moments. Despite his promises to stick to Samuel Beckett's 1954 treat, Williams, 36, is improvising jokes as the pathetic hero Bippo in *Hinking for Gold*, now playing at New York City. Said the comedian before the show opened last week: "This don't do life Beckett, 'cuz like you don't fool with Beckett!" But, of course, Williams has stolen a few lines of the three-act play from *The Twilight Zone*, thumbed "the Academy," and modeled a fellow tramp by calling him a "critic." Still, the devoted to see Williams with comical comedian Steve Martin and Oscar-winning actor F. Murray Abraham is so great that the 250-seat theatre where the play is running for just seven weeks held a lottery for the 16,000 available tickets. And with Williams as the comic tramp, the women may get more than they bargained for.



Williams musically funny moments

## A LADY IN DEMAND

Actress Paula de Vasconcelos says she began to plan for long periods of unemployment when she decided to perform onstage. The Lisbon native adds that for job insurance, she studied directing and started a theatre company in Montreal, where she lives. But she says that since she won the lead part in the movie adaptation of Suzanne Jaculé's 1983 Governor General's Award-winning novel, *Leurs Lèvres*—to be released next spring—she has had many offers of work. Adds de Vasconcelos, 34: "I was frightened of having nothing to do now there's so much happening it's scary."



Venetian Glass

## Turning facts into fiction

Canadian author James Houston says that he prefers to embellish the truth rather than write pure fiction. Houston, 47, who has lived throughout the Arctic, based part of his new book, *Whisper*, on the life of a friend who froze to death in a northern storm. But Houston's tale has a happier ending: "I always felt it was an awful shame that my friend died and decided that he is not going to die in my book."



The Original Amaretto. Imported from Italy.

Fortunately there is something deep within human nature that compels us to keep trying. Somehow we can never "leave well enough alone"; we must improve, refine, polish, innovate. However good an idea may be, it can always be made better.

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## FILMS

# Paradise postponed

*A Jamaican nanny fights to keep her son*

MILK AND HONEY

Directed by Rebecca Yates and Glen Solomon

**I**t is a legendary cultural exchange: In affluent Toronto, a busy career woman sends away for a foreign nanny to bring up her baby. A Jamaican mother, lured by the promise of guaranteed employment, comes to Canada to care for a stranger's child—but she must leave her own son behind. That is the

history of her new holdings, where she works as a live-in nanny for a Toronto couple. Sandy (Patina Miller) and Steven (Tom Butler). But at the end of her first week, Joanne finds just \$30 in her pay envelope. Devastated, she complains to her employer. "I leave home with the crystal-clear understanding that I would be making \$225 a week," Sandy gently explains, then \$30 in all that remains after she has deducted room and board, income tax, pension and the first

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Joanne and Adam join in a serious game of hide-and-seek with immigration authorities—with David caught in the middle.

As Joanne, Solman purveys a striking combination of beauty and strength. She acts with a controlled intensity, moving with ease from moments of silent anger to the delusion of a religious revival session. And as Adam, Ward effectively conveys the shades of doubt, guilt and despair that creep through the conscience of a worried, middle-class white man offering to nurse a vulnerable young Jamaican woman. The drama is built on a web of dependencies, each based on inequity. But instead of exploring the main characters in depth, the plot takes some serious turns toward melodrama. The portrayal of the Jamaican underworld seems especially heavy-handed. And the script makes some jarring leaps in logic. When Joanne first meets Adam, he is married with children; the following year, he is, unexplainably, living alone.

Although the movie glazes with the magic touch of Quebec cinematographer Guy Dufresne,

what shot *The Decline of the American Empire* it is awkwardly directed. Toronto-based directors Solman and Yates spent three years developing and expanding *Milk and Honey*, their first feature, and Solman wrote the script with Joanne's Trevor Rhone, who cowrote the 1973 classic *The Harder They Come*, starring reggae singer Jimmy Cliff. But Solman clashed with editor Bruce Myrick as the footage was being put together last year. In the final week of editing, Solman and Yates demanded a new editor—"We just didn't connect," said Solman. Producer Peter O'Brien, who worked with Myrick on such award-winning pictures as *The Gipsy Girl* (1985), refused to fire him. Tensions ran so high between Solman and Myrick in the editing room that, at one point, Solman threw a coffee pot at the wall, narrowly missing Myrick. O'Brien then ordered the directors to sleep away from the editing, but Solman and Yates got the Directors' Guild of Canada to mediate them for three weeks. A security guard was hired to watch over them as they worked. Finally, O'Brien succeeded in evicting the directors from the editing room and supervised the rest of the editing himself.



Solman, Miller playing a nervous game of hide-and-seek with immigration authorities

promise of *Milk and Honey*, a drama that explores the dark side of Canada's multicultural dream. It is an imperfect film, with a production history marred by a bitter dispute. In fact, its behind-the-scenes directing team, Glen Solomon and Rebecca Yates, tried unsuccessfully to have their names removed from the credits. But a pungent theme and a powerful lead performance make *Milk and Honey* worth seeing despite some serious flaws.

The story begins in a Jamaican village. Joanne, a single mother supported by English doctor Joanne Simon, late a self-employed hair salon, finds a job in Toronto to care eight-year-old son, David (Richard Miller), and finds into a battered son board for the airport. Arriving in Canada, she is thrilled by the

entailment of her duties. Joanne finds solace at the local playground, where the neighborhood mothers trade stories about the ordeal of being separated from their families while they await "handed-immigrant status." When Joanne's son comes to Canada for a Christmas visit, Joanne decides to keep him in the country illegally. And through Del (Quincy Shaw), one of the playground rascals, she meets a shady Jamaican nightclub operator nicknamed Mr. Frost (Glen Ballard), who offers to sell her forged immigration papers for her son. Designed into the script as Adam (Steven Ward), a school principal who once made a cheap attempt to seduce Joanne. With an untold romance lurking in the background,

Calling the finished product "sacred and sacred," Solman said in an interview that it is not the movie he and his wife intended to make. Yet, he added, "I hope it does well—audiences should make up their own minds." Meanwhile, O'Brien maintained that "it is very much the film that they shot—I did my best to honor their vision." In light of the dispute, it is remarkable that *Milk and Honey* turned out as well as it did. The movie has a strong heart—and it has earned a production trauma that seems as absurd as the immigration conflict depicted onscreen.

BRENN D. JOHNSON

# All-American flops

Jessica Lange cannot redeem two new movies

Jessica Lange has a great talent for acting and in *Discar* to prove it. She has versatile good looks that allow her to play sexy or vulnerable with equal credibility. And she has a house as the country, where she raises her three children with writer Sam Shepard, a man who seems to correspond to *Everywoman's* ideal of the ruggedly handsome American male. But this month, Lange has the bad luck of starring in a pair of dreadful movies, each a distinctly Southern belle at its own right. The two pictures could not be more dissimilar.

*Everybody's All-American* is Hollywood to the hilt—a romantic epic that stars Lange as a Southern belle lured to a football hero played by Dennis Quaid. *For North*, the first movie directed by Shepard, is a dumb art film about a horse. Lange plays a farmer's daughter who tries to shoot the animal, which angers her father. Apparently on one, Lange's role is to be a servant to Shepard's judgment: to develop the script while showcasing her long throw into a barn during a pitch catch.

The two movies suffer from opposite sorts of self-indulgence. *Everybody's All-American* is an unashamed soap opera that exploits nostalgia for America's lost heroism. *For North* is an absurdist lament for the lost house and authenticity of rural life.

Equipped with every cliché in the Hollywood playbook, *Everybody's All-American* was directed by Taylor Hackford, whose previous romantic dramas—*An Officer and a Gentleman* and *Against All Odds*—were almost spurned for corruption. Bridging the conventionalities of the 1960s with that of the 1990s, *Everybody's All-American* trades its characters over three decades. The story begins in 1966, the year that Gena (Quaid), a Louisiana farm boy nicknamed the Gray Ghost, triumphs as an All-American while his college

sweetheart, Belle (Lange), is proclaimed Miss Gena. They have the perfect couple, and Gena's mascot captain, Donnie (Christopher Pennell), shares both of them. Gena marries Belle and moves on to a career as professional football, while Donnie stays single and becomes a successful athlete. Over the years, as Gena's body goes out, he is left behind a future as a wounded-up athlete. Meanwhile, his restless wife becomes consumed of Donnie, an intellectual in tune with the changing times.

*Everybody's All-American* is like a pop-surrealist class reunion that never ends. As the years pass, Gena's penis goes progressively larger with layers of making. For Ralston, aging has no more effect on facial hair, which shifts from head to gutters to moustache. Lange, aside from some changes in hairstyle and wardrobe, looks much the same regardless of the decade. There are some moments of fine acting. Berly Jelle Goodwin, the star of TV's *Beavis and Butt-Head*, adds a touch of comic relief as a charming agent who woos her. "What in the hell is better than playing football?" And as a minor

unfavorable circumstances, Quaid turns in an admirable performance. But none of the cast stands a chance against



Shepard, never innocent



Lange in *Everybody's All-American*: a Southern belle lured to a football hero

the movie script. With a straight face, Quaid has to deliver such lines as, "Look Belle, I don't get all country over babies." And Ralston, who has the job of reminding the audience which decade is being portrayed, displays great patience with such aphorisms as, "He's on the wrong side of history." Lange is stuck with lines that

make her sound as if she has overdone on roast judges. "I don't want to be like all the others," Belle tells Gena as her sweet Southern drawl. "I don't ever want to be like Miss Louisiana, Miss America, Miss anything. I just want to be yours." As thickly practiced as a Rose Bowl Parade, *Everybody's All-American* is a great,

clanking machine of all-star stereotypes. What is most remarkable is that Hackford plays them straight to the middle, without a touch of irony. There is no shortage of irony in *For North*, but there is little else. The story is a writer's conceit that might have looked amusing on the page but fails to make much sense on the screen. Although much of the drama takes place outdoors, in a West Virginia landscape, the movie has the pervading quality of a stage play so oblique that only the actors fully understand it. Lange is cast as the daughter of a character played by Charles Durning, who also portrayed her father in *Twelve Months*. Durning is laid up after a runaway horse pulls him and his wagon off the road. From his hospital bed, he vows revenge and instructs his daughter Kate (Lange) to shoot the horse. Kate is not first horrified by the suggestion, but under pressure from her unscrupulous father, she agrees to carry out the deed. Back at the barn, Kate's stubborn sister, Rita (Tina Turner), tries everything to stop her.

Too often, *For North's* early humor is diluted by sentiment. Lacking the bite of the black comedies that Shepard has written for the stage—including *Foot for Lane* and *True West*—the movie is an awkward little about a family at war with itself. Everyone, including the horse, gets lost in the woods. And as does the audience. As for Lange, she is no better off as a farmer's daughter than as an all-American wife.

NEILAN D. JOHNSON

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Syed (center): Life as an elaborate ruggie prepared him for the role

## FILMS

# Wild in the streets

A new movie looks at Bombay's abandoned kids

SALAM BOMBAY!  
Directed by Mira Nair

Krishna is a 10-year-old boy who sleeps in the rubble-strewn streets of Bombay, India. He makes a living carrying pious of tea to the people, prostitutes and drug dealers of the red-light district. It is possible to see the movie *Salam Bombay!* and conclude that 11-year-old actor Sharif Syed gives an unusually believable performance as Krishna, the film's main character. Syed's acting talent is undoubted, but he has had a lifetime on the streets to prepare him for the part, when producer and director Mira Nair met him, he was an itinerant Bombay ruggie, says Nair, 35, and that she considered it essential to have street kids play all of the children's parts in her drama. Explained Nair, who was born in India but has lived in the United States for the past 12 years: "The combination of childhood and violence in their faces is very difficult to find in actors who don't come from the streets."

In addition to casting orphaned children, Nair decided to film in the actual location of Bombay. The result is a work of unadorned authenticity. The subtitled Hindi-language movie won the Golden Camera Award for best first feature at the Cannes Film Festival in May and was voted the most popular film at the Montreal Film Festival in August. New York City-based Nair made four docu-

mentaries—including *Jehli Calcutti*, a study of Bombay striptease artists—before switching to features with *Salam Bombay!* "I wanted to have more control telling the story," she told *Marken's*. But, she added, "the gift of documentary for me is its ability to capture life's sensibility, contradictions and nuances—life's edge. In *Salam Bombay!* I wanted to keep that edge."

From the outset, the project was an extraordinary fusion of drama and reality. *Salam Bombay!* evolved out of an intensive theatre workshop in 1987 with 10 children, mostly runaways, living on the streets of Bombay. Drawing on their discoveries with the children, Nair and screenwriter Susan Tanquerella followed the story line of the film. In addition to giving the children's trust, the film crew had to get access to one of Bombay's brotherly. Recalling her meeting with 18 residents, Nair said, "Being a woman helped establish a more personal connection. But, finally, you make a deal: money in exchange, and life goes on."

At the outset of the film, the boy Krishna is working as a ruggie after a dispute with his rival

family. One day, while he is on his street, the ruggie pulls up stakes and vanishes. Taking a train to the nearest city, he plunges into the territory, brightly lit square of their bay and takes up a new existence in a clubhouse—his life. Making his rounds, he meets Rishi, a serious pimp and drug dealer, Rakhi, a prostitute, and Mami, their eight-year-old daughter. He also strikes up a friendship with Street Screen (Chanda Sharma), a young Nepali girl who has recently been sold into prostitution.

Krishna and the other street children look what they call "the luxury of childhood" but they possess a resilient vitality. Watching a popular film in a movie house, they sing along heartily with the female star, imitating her raucous movements. Later, a small boy on a railway platform sings the same song while ambling calmly into the path of an oncoming train. Unlike most films about children, *Salam Bombay!* is neither patronizing nor sentimental. Instead, it is a heartily what mother's view of a world that has a shabby poetry all its own. Still, the film is curiously lacking in dramatic intensity; it has the slice-of-life quality of a documentary in place of a gripping narrative.

After the cameras stopped rolling, the film-makers' involvement with their young actors continued. Nair asked the children, each of whom received a salary, what they wanted to do next and promised to help make the wish come true. Five of them returned to live with their families, and part-time jobs and schooling were set up for others. Many of them had difficulty returning into a regular, *Salam Nair*.

"The independence of the street is incredibly addictive." Of all the children, she added, the film's star, Syed, had the hardest time adjusting. But now, he and two others are making part-time jobs as actors in New Delhi while still going to school.

The film-makers have also set up a trust fund to establish housing centers for the children in Bombay and New Delhi. Proceeds from new film screenings of the movie in the West and in India—where it will open in December—will be used to launch the project.

Such programs are essential to help with the 100 million street children around the world, mostly in poor countries. At Nair's film shows, these young people are accustomed to self-sufficiency and the need to protect for



Sharma: playing a Nepali sold into prostitution

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## BOOKS

# Northern follies

James Michener's tale of the gold rush

### JOURNEY

By James A. Michener  
(McCluad and Stewart, 240 pages, \$24.95)

The imperial reach of James A. Michener is nothing secret to have in line. In 41 years, the American novelist has churned out 35 bloodstained and blood-soaked epics spanning half the world. The scope of his embrace is apparent in their titles: *The River*, *Poland*, *Texas* and *Alaska* and the northern *Heaven*. His superb traveler's account of Spain Michener does and surely tell stories, he dwells on entire cultures. His approach has earned him a persistent niche on the best-seller lists. It has also shed some critics who complain of too-did characteristics and plots growing beneath the weight of Michener's voluminous research. But whatever his shortcomings, Michener has a genuine gift for connecting with readers—something he fully demonstrates in his latest book, *Journey*. Set against the backdrop of the 1897-1899 Yukon gold rush, the novel tracks Michener's first fictional use of the big, wild and frequently mysterious country-bygones of his own.

Michener's enthusiasm for *Journey*—he calls it "a very strong book"—was evident when the author applied to Michener's recently while visiting Toronto to promote the novel. He says that he is particularly excited by his plan to use the Canadian royalties from *Journey* for the creation of a fund for helping young Canadian writers. "It's going to make a lot of money," he said, "and I feel it will be appropriate for an American author to take it out of Canada."

Vigorous and full at 81, Michener possesses the mental energy and every confidence of a much younger man. Yet the novel's success and authority that he makes his not come easily. As a result of unknown passages, Michener was named as home for headlines read by Quaker woman Mabel Michener to act and relate of former Canadian governor general Roland Michener in *Daybreak*. "He was quite good," Michener recalled. "I once owned a bicycle or a baseball mitt, but I had a model who read Dickens and Thackeray to me. I think that was a fair trade-off."

Michener eventually was a full scholarship

to Swarthmore College in suburban Philadelphia, and later became a teacher and editor. Then, with the outbreak of the Second World War, he joined the U.S. navy, rising to the rank of lieutenant-commander in the South Pacific. After the war, he drew on those experiences for his last book, *Tales of the South Pacific*, which won the 1948 Pulitzer Prize and was

to Swarthmore College in suburban Philadelphia, and later became a teacher and editor. Then, with the outbreak of the Second World War, he joined the U.S. navy, rising to the rank of lieutenant-commander in the South Pacific. After the war, he drew on those experiences for his last book, *Tales of the South Pacific*, which won the 1948 Pulitzer Prize and was



Michener: lifelong fascination with foreign places

as adapted into a musical and a movie called *South Pacific*.

The volume set the pattern for Michener's lifelong fascination with foreign places—a trait that has been routinely one among American writers. His curiosity about foreign lands allows him closely with those traveling English writers who described the many cultures with in the 19th-century British Empire. "I have a great affinity with such people," Michener said. "The British chequers attached, say, to the British Empire when they have been born in an unknown world, yet he often turned out a powerful good book about that society."

In *Journey*, Michener has written his own powerful good book about British culture in confrontation with the Canadian wilderness.

The novel focuses on three upper-class Englishmen, these leaders, Lord Laton, and their faithful Irish servant, Fogarty. Inspired by reports of the gold rush on the Klondike River, the five journey by train across Canada to Edmonton. Laton, who is violently anti-American, is determined to make his way to the gold fields entirely over what he calls "British" territory—he is address to Canada's achievement of independence 30 years earlier. As a result, he rejects the standard and most popular route, through the Alaskan pipeline, electing instead to run a boat down the Mackenzie River, then up one of its western tributaries. From there, he plans to portage through the Rocky Mountains to other rivers leading into Denver.

That is not an impossible route. It was used by a few real-life prospectors—a fact that Michener says he learned from reading Canadian author Pierre Berton's books—but the way is long and dangerous. Lord Laton makes matters worse by departing from Edmonton in late summer. The ice begins to melt the travelers before they are far along the Mackenzie, forcing them to build a shelter of driftwood and endure the severest winter weather as best they can.

Compared with most of Michener's novels, the saga of this ordeal is brief: 380 pages instead of his usual thick volumes at least three times that length. But free of the customary subplots and meandering national considerations, *Journey* reveals Michener as a fine natural storyteller. Despite this concentration that seems very close to stereotyping, the book possesses the timeless appeal of a tale documenting the ancient struggle of mankind with nature. There is something deeply attractive about Laton's small band of hardy Englishmen striding across their crude landscape, combating loneliness and boredom with long conversations of the trust themselves they have in each other. At such moments, *Journey* has the romantic glow of *Admiral* and other classic tales of adventure, where the image of a man goes on when his reader with equanimity.

For Michener's criticism for his heroes—and for the phenomenon of the English gentlemen, which they represent—is balanced with implicit criticism. Laton's proud independence is also his his meanness on taking the most difficult route eventually costs them all his own three lives. He has his doubts, but never truly to random factors by showing how the tragedy eventually makes a factor, most specifically one of him. But his transformation in accompanying *Journey* becomes a compelling tale about man and his own culture's—tragic inability to come to grips with an idea. Lord Laton's life becomes his own. It does not have James Michener's clear-headed appreciation of realism different from his own.

# Lost in America

Chronicle the heartland's broken dreams

THE GREAT DIVIDE: SECOND THOUGHTS ON THE AMERICAN DREAM  
By Steve Terkel  
(Random House, 489 pages, \$25.95)

They are voices from the heartland, the mythic Middle America of Norman Rockwell's paintings and Norman Douglas's motto—the striving for the great self-fulfilling American Dream. But

too long 'You're either making' big bucks or little bucks. There's nothing in between."

Throughout the book there is an overwhelming sense that the United States has abandoned its nation spirit, the one that sustained it through previous crises, including the Great Depression. "There's a sickness in the land that won't be in the clinics," says Missouri to farmers' advocate Lou Anne Kling, a fourth-generation farmer herself. "We're losing a



Terkel: the ever-widening gap between rich and poor

best-known for his 1974 book, *Working and Other* has 1985 Pulitzer Prize-winning best-seller, *The Good War*, the Chicago-based Terkel built books rather than writers there. Apart from introductions, more translations and the occasional aside from the author, the 80-odd readable characters who populate *The Great Divide* speak for themselves—about what their lives are like, about what they are and what they make of it, about what is right and wrong with their world. For once, a lot more is wrong than right. Describing the ever-widening gap between rich and poor in the United States—"the great divide" of the title—Chicago laborer Bruce Devlin says, "There's not gonna be any middle class

living as a people."

Terkel himself dwells a difference in the Depression years, the dispossessed were called victims, few days called heroes. "It is more than a sensation, it is a struggle," he writes. "Then, the words of the women reflected discomfort in the presence of the more unlucky. Now they reflect a mild contempt. And fear." Terkel describes how, in the course of his research, he left his Midwestern stamping ground and ventured to Wall Street, where he confronted that new American ethic in its purest form. New York Stock Exchange trader Ben Waskop, who is worth approximately \$400 million, tells him: "Without loss, no one

can win. Unless you have losses you cannot have winners."

For different kinds of agonies, Terkel does not have to stray far from the heartland. Another Missouri farmer, Peter Ryan, blames his—and all farmers'—troubles on communism. "It's the five big grain companies," Ryan explains. "Most of them have summer homes in the Ukraine, Russia. They're all communists." Ryan also points the finger at Reagan, declaring, "They want to set up a mezzanine kingdom, with them as masters and the rest of us as slaves."

Yet Terkel manages to retain some old-fashioned American optimism. He quotes 15-year-old Charles Buzza who, despite the cynicism most readily he feels around him, tells Terkel, "I hope I won't ever get to the point where I say to myself there's nothing I can do, so why try?" As *The Great Divide* progresses, Terkel's optimism for the spirit of the common man and woman grows broader and grander. In his final interview, he talks to Jack Gump, a Chicago-based grandmother who led a card on a minute boat, delivered a Manhattan 10 mile and then sat down and started to be arrested. "Oh God, I have tremendous hope," says Gump. "I figure it somehow like me can put out like we'll all around and do something, someday in the United States can." Gump, whom Terkel vividly describes as "an enemy of the people," is serving 30 years in a New Jersey prison. Clearly, for Terkel, his country is still producing people whom he reveres in uniquely American terms: ordinary people who have risked their personal freedom, their livelihoods and even their lives to do what they think is right.

JOHN GALT

## HARDY'S BEST-SALEAR LIST

### FICTION

- 1 *The Life of Ophelia*, Doris (1)
- 2 *Car's Eye*, Alfred (2)
- 3 *The Edge*, Francis (3)
- 4 *The Cardinal of the Kremlin*, Clancy (4)
- 5 *Alone*, Mulvaney (5)
- 6 *Tell Me About Agnes*, Evans (6)
- 7 *The Secret Agenda*, Lashin (7)
- 8 *Says*, Steel (8)
- 9 *Goodies*, Lashin (9)
- 10 *John*, David (10)

### NONFICTION

- 1 *The Ache Graft*, Serin (1)
- 2 *Range of Love*, Harris (2)
- 3 *A Brief History of Time*, Hawking (3)
- 4 *Spells of Power*, Sanyal (4)
- 5 *Process in Time*, Devlin and Gump (5)
- 6 *Caroline's Story*, Mulvaney Goodbook, Power (6)
- 7 *Controversies*, Francis (7)
- 8 *Ed Brundage: The Pursuit of Power*, Steel (8)
- 9 *The Lives of John Lennon*, Gilman (9)
- 10 *No Time in When Goodbye*, Pink (10)

11 *From the last word*

Compiled by David McGee

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# Tuned out and turned off

BY ALLAN ROTHERINGHAM

In the hell of the mud and poison gas in the trenches of the First World War, some young men would even volunteer to be crushed under the steam and released to fight. The British shot 327 of their own soldiers, as an example to the others, nearly as for every one of the war. They also executed 15 Canadians, since the Canadian Army was under British command. Amazingly, most willingly, released to allow any of their deserters under fire to be killed—believing it too severe a penalty for volunteers fighting for a European cause.

Austria, because of its location, has been able to develop a quirky independence and a remarkable personality. Unlike Canada, it is not required every day in every way to guard its personality from a dominant guest apartment near door. It is not required to sacrifice distinctive features because some politicians and businessmen think efficiency and "business of world" are all that life is about. The reason the battle over free trade has turned around so dramatically is because enough Canadians realize life is about more than profits and counter-claiming duties.

It's hilarious watching the pious Tom Clancy-style, and to suppose that the voters would actually be interested in the one issue the government didn't want to dominate the campaign. The Mulroneyes dropped all over the wacky popular free trade proposal put out by Margaret Bevan, the married Alberta family court judge, in the coverage of a "72-year-old grandfather." What could a 72-year-old grandpa know? They then trot out, on their side, 49-year-old Kenneth Hall, whose best years are long behind him.

Anyone who doubts that free trade as proposed would not lead to even more domination needs only to listen to all the grandiose-headed experts who leave the free press. They talk of "internationalism"—as if this were something harmless like toothbrush. It is their word for making things more efficient, more milking of things American and things Canadian. In actuality, "internationalism" means the further milking of two different



societies, with all that that implies.

It is Ontario Premier David Peterson who points out that both American political parties are to the right of all those Canadian parties. Realism internationalism? There's only one way you can internationalize: become more like them. As I write this in Washington in a quiet residential street, I see watching a workman across the street assemble and spray-paint a car fender that he is fantasizing across the ground-floor window of a townhouse. The free-trade, all course, is a pretty way of disposing the fact that they are here as an invasion, to discourage localism. Can you imagine a prime minister campaigning with the boast that he owns a gun—as did George Bush, proudly waving his membership card in the infamous National Rifle Association, the wealthy and influential gun lobby.

The business press of *The New York Times* is full of heavy hints of what punishment Wash-

ington could inflict on Canadian voters who are unimpressed in deciding they like life as it is. "The Canadians cannot expect things to remain calm and passive if this agreement goes down in flames," says Michael Weitz, staff director of the House ways and means trade subcommittee. It is intriguing that discussion of free trade appears only on the business pages in the United States. There is never any discussion on, say, the back pages of the possible effect on Canadian publishing and Canadian authors. There is no discussion of the state of television, or currency manipulation or the Canadian medicine system versus the shabby American version. It's just business, boys.

How much do the Tories care? We have just seen completed the longest-lasting, drawn-out battle for the American presidency ever to lose to a public. Through media promises and a furious battle for the White House, the candidates promised one another. Never once did any of them ever bring up the free trade proposal with Canada.

In the past-completed showdown between George Bush and Michael Dukakis, the big important issues were the pledge of allegiance, fighting for contracts and calling on the Boston harbor. Neither candidate once mentioned either Canada or free trade. Their audiences would have looked blank if they had. Bush has been in the White House for eight years with 40 Reagan, when a free trade agreement was supposedly a top Republican wish. He never once mentioned it in his entire campaign.

Last year, testifying before the (dead) parliamentary committee on free trade, Margaret Atwood said: "Our national symbol is the beaver, noted for its industry and co-operative spirit." In medieval bestiaries it is also noted for its habit, when frightened, of biting off its own testicles and offering them to its pursuer. I hope we are not succumbing to some form of that impulse.

Mark Twain was a great fan of parody. He regarded that the constraints of society formed the liberal use of it, as in his case, in respectable literature. He prided himself on his vast and colorful vocabulary in the art. One morning, staring, he cut himself and let loose a magnificent demonstration of his words. His wife, who shared his habit, was passing by the bathroom and, in an attempt to show him, repeated the sentence.

"You have the words, my dear," and then, lowering his razor, "but you don't have the tone." The reason Twain's best friends have played in preposterous in the public as well as because they love the words but they don't have the tone of Twain's thinking.



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